KANO

MILLENNIUM

1,000 YEARS IN HISTORY

Research & Documentation Directorate

Edited by:
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KANO IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

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Bello Bashir Gwarzo

Kano in the Second Millennium

Selected Papers Presented at the Seminar on *Kano in the Second Millennium*
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Research and Documentations Directorate
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Dedication

To dear and respected teachers

Yusuf Bala Usman (1945-2005)
Ahmad Muhammad Kani (1946-2002)

Allah Ya Jiƙan su da Gafara

Acknowledgements

The long-awaited publication of these conference proceedings would not have been possible without the tireless efforts of Alhaji Ibrahim Ado Kurawa, Director General, Research and Documentation Directorate, Government House, Kano. Not only was the Directorate able to source the funding for the publication, but Alhaji Ibrahim's patriotic interest in seeing to the publication of the proceedings provided a big boost to the Director's efforts in documenting the history and heritage of Kano. The entire people of Kano are indeed extremely grateful to him for his foresight in ensuring the publication of these papers.

Due to various events and circumstances, the promise to publish the proceedings kept being placed on the back-burner, which eventually made the gathering of the almost 60 papers to almost disappear. However, Alhaji Muhammad Ɗanyaro, the current Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information, and a primary participant in the 1999 conference, was able to provide at least 18 of the papers. We also remain grateful to him for preserving these papers, many of which were lost even to the original authors themselves.

Finally, I would like to thank Abdullahi Muhammad Aminu and Bello Bashir Gwarzo for co-ordinating the re-typing of the papers.

Abdalla Uba Adamu
Kano, November 2010

Introduction

Abdalla Uba Adamu and Bello Bashir Gwarzo

This book contains selected papers from the Kano Millennium Conference held in Kano from 10th to 14th May, 1999. The Conference was held to commemorate 1000 years of the existence of the city-state as a Kingdom-Emirate. About 60 papers were presented at the conference which could have amounted to another Kano Chronicle.[1] However, due to the gap between the seminar (1999) and publication (2010), many of the papers had been misplaced, and only about 18 papers were eventually recovered and subsequently considered for publication. These 18 papers cover the history, politics, economy and sociology of Kano, and are therefore categorized along these perspectives.

The Historical Perspectives

Yusuf Bala Usman's paper on the formation of the Kanawa or the Hausa people (*Hausawa*) of Kano is an eye-opener. In expounding the theory of the primacy of motion, he debunked the fantasy of racio-ethnic ties as the basis of social formations, particularly political communities, which European imperialists peddle. Like all other social formations, Kano's distinct identity is a product of migrations and economic activities that led to the high density of population over centuries. The sarauta or the institution of sarki was just a key turning point and not the beginning of the process. Relating this to the future of mankind, Bala posits that once we recognize this inevitable and natural movement of history,

which the nation-states of Europe and North America, in response to the current challenges of globalization, are readjusting to, in form of regional integration (supra-states), but which the nation-states of Africa and Asia are helplessly responding to inform of break-ups into smaller sovereign nationalities and confederations, we can then proceed to build the future on this basis of our historical experience.

Ahmad Muhammad Kani's paper on the intellectual position of Kano in the *bilad as-Sudan*, traces Kano's unique position in Hauasaland to its strategic location, economy, industry and commerce. This makes it the most urbanized metropolis in Africa. He traced the beginning of Islam in Kano from the prediction of the oracle, *Barbushe*, on Dala Hill before 999 AD to its consolidation as a state religion, with an Islamic constitution in the 15th century. This produced a book culture and scholarship in the city which created a link with the rest of Western Sudan, Borno and North Africa. The exchange of merchandise and ideas attracted scholars such as Sheikh AbdurRahman Sojourn from Egypt, a disciple of ibn al-Ghazi, Sheikh Umar bin Muhammad 'Atiq of Timbuktu on his return from Mecca, Sheikh Makhluf bin Ali bin Salih al-Bilbali, who memorized both the Qur'an and Sahih al-Bukhari. Kani also gave an insight into the first Islamic Reforms Kano and discussed the details of the Islamic constitution which Maghili wrote for the King Muhammad Rumfa in the 15th century. He highlighted the corrupt practices that rulers must avoid and welfare system they should establish to alleviate poverty

Sulaiman Musa's paper complimented Kani's with a more chronological order of the growth and development of Islam in Kano from the 999 to date. He first discussed the founding of Kano, the arrival of Bagauda, Islam in the 14th

century, Islam in the 15th century, the 19th century Jihad in Kano and Islam in Kano today as it enters the 2nd Millennium AD. In this last section of the paper, Musa listed, with some biographical notes, the Islamic educational institutions and Muslim scholars and thinkers of repute, to illustrate the depth Islam has permeated the history and culture of Kano.

Ibrahim Ado Kurawa wrote on the Jihad in Kano. He gave a conceptual definition of Jihad and categorized the wave of the Jihad in Kano into two. The first type is for the establishment of an Islamic government and the second type against rebels and brigands. Kurawa gave a brief history of Sheikh Uthman dan Fodio, leader of the Jihad that established the Sokoto Caliphate of which Kano was part. He cited some of his writings and those of his disciplines, on the cause and course of the Jihad. Subsequently, Kurawa narrated the pattern that the Jihad took in Kano in some detail as to who did what, where, when and how. The chronicle of events was corroborated with maps of the places certain events took place. This led to an account of how the Kano Emirate was established – who received the flag and the select committee that chooses the Emir, the dismissal of which, ninety years later by the Sultan in Sokoto, led to the Kano civil war.

The Political Perspectives

Dahiru Yahaya examined the political role of the aristocracy (*sarauta*) in the social changes that took place in Kano in the last millennium. Incidentally, Yahaya took off from Yusuf Bala Usman's dismissal of the central role of the *sarauta* in the formation of the Kanawa, grinding the issue to a point of great relevance and showing, rather like a Marxist, the class nature of Kano: the *masu sarauta* (aristocrats) and the

talakawa (masses). In between he outlined, the leadership structure as including *malamai* (Islamic scholars), *bayi* (royal slaves), *tajirai* (merchants) and, with the coming of western education, *'yan boko* (western educated elite). Despite the pragmatic approach the aristocrats adopted over the years to sustain and maintain their position, Yahaya did not see a future for them. Democratic practices, which the modern state system seeks to entrench, are eroding their fortified domain, and this is not helped by resurgent Islam.

Muhammad Jamilu Abba discussed the sarauta system at length and chronologically, focusing on its influence on the spatial growth and community integration of Kano city. Beginning with a universal role of leadership institutions to the theory of the Hausa states, Abba narrowed his gaze down to the Kano city's earliest history and political organization (100-999). On the spatial growth of Kano city, he points out that the policy of tolerance and accommodation by the Kano rulers had survived even colonial period which led to the establishment of townships for the Muslim northerners and townships for other Nigerians and non-Nigerians. He says they are all integrated into the Kano society. They are products of migratory trends from the earliest period to date.

Nuruddeen Abubakar also examined the influence of the sarauta system, as leadership, on the emergence and development of the state. He discussed the autochtones, and like Yusuf Bala Usman, points out the processes of production through which institutions evolved. He argues that the sarauta system played a central role in the formation of the state. He believes that the motive force is the sarauta and that major developments are located in a particular sarki's reign from Sarki Tsamiya, who he believed, citing Mahdi, was the

first real *Sarki*, to Rumfa when statecraft was fully developed and the sarauta came of age. He concludes that from Rumfa to *Kutumbawa*, the last of the dynasties, the sarauta was the driving force of the change until another group in the leadership structure, the scholars, took control of the wind.

The Sociological Perspectives

Muhammad Uba Adamu discussed Kano's urban culture. He examined the emergence of Kano as a city-state in the last one thousand years. He drew a typology of urban cultures where he listed about eight types of cities based on their cultural ecology. They are ritual cities; mercantile and administrative cities; industrial cities and mass communication villages; colonial and neo-colonial cities and; scholastic cities. Adamu defined each by its history and characteristics and gave examples of each across time around the world. He related the various categories into which Kano fit at one time or the other to become a melting pot and thus an enigma – multiethnic, multicultural and yet, homogenous.

Abdalla Uba Adamu, incidentally the son of Muhammad Uba Adamu, discussed the sociological context of multiethnic nature of Kano and how Kano emerged as one of the melting pots in Nigeria. The nature of settlement patterns of various ethnicities that fused to form a singular Kano identity are discussed within the theoretical frameworks of citizenship and ethnicity in Africa.

AbdulRazzaq Ahmad Muhammad-Oumar's paper deals with the structure of socio-cultural aspects of the house Housing in the inner city of Kano. The paper establishes the basic socio-spatial characteristics of the Hausa domestic

architecture and shows how the resulting environment is supportive of the Hausa-Islamic culture.

Ahmed Bako's and M. T. Usman's paper on the growth of the *Sabon Gari* system in Kano debunked the hitherto predominant thesis by Olusanya et al that Sabon Gari's were created in Northern Nigeria to protect Islam and the culture of the Hausa-speaking people Muslim population. Bako argues that Sabon Gari, Kano, and other Sabon Garis in the North were established by colonialists to racially segregate people. He empirically establishes the fact that Hausa and many other Northern Nigerian communities constituted a substantial, if not the largest, proportion of the population in Sabon Gari until the 1953 Kano Riot when many of them were forced out.

J. G. Nengel wrote on the migrant settlements in pre-colonial central Nigeria, which he argues, were the consequence of religious change in Kano. He discussed a few settlements such as the Kanam, Riruwai, Ningi, etc. who fled Kano to escape conversion into Islam. The slogan of one of the émigré groups, Gwanda-rawa-da-sallah, earned them the tribal name Gwandara.

Mustapha Ahmad examined ward names in contemporary Kano. He made a toponomy of about 150 wards in Kano metropolis, some of which reflect its complexity. Such names refer to persons, vegetation, physical features, occupations, explorers, heroes, foreigners and Hausa phrases and sentences.

Nu'man Muhammed Habib raised the question in his paper, Kano's Last Millennium, to alert the public and the authorities about the future of Kano. He appraised Kano's development from its beginnings on Dala Hill to the present where the badalar Kano, a symbol of identity, unity,

cooperation and purity, which now lay in ruins. This is a harbinger of unplanned future. The statistics of school drop-outs he presents speak for itself. While other writers spoke in glowing terms of Kano past glory, Habib laments the bleak future and thus, seeks answers from the society.

Rose Mbata discusses what makes Kano tick. She narrates Kano's comparative advantages over other cities in Nigeria and then examines Kano, its culture, its history in the second millennium and the factors that give it such a magnetic force.

Lastly Yusuf Adamu's paper discusses the current trends in the literary scene in Kano. He examined the future of the new Hausa novella in Kano. As the young ones are perfecting the art of adventurous and love stories and the publishing industry is thriving, suddenly they are confronted, in fact, threatened, by the growing film industry.

The Economic Perspectives

The glory of Kano is essentially because of its commerce. Abdulkarim Umar Dan-Asabe examined three leading traders namely, *Sharubutu*, *Jakada* and *Dantata*. He begins historically, by establishing Kano's rate of migration which is the highest in Northern Nigeria and has increased in size by 650 percent between 1911 and 1962. This was borne out of its trading links from the 19th to the 20th centuries. He then presents the biographies of the three traders by giving insights into their numerous aspects of the long-distance trade that operated out of Northern Nigeria. He made a chronicle of the economic activities of the three influential traders and how they contributed to long-distance trade. The three biographies cover roughly the same period, from the middle of the

nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. This period was the beginning of colonial advent and subsequent integration of the West African sub-region into the wider world economy.

The book closes with a postscript by Bello Basir Gwarzo that looks at how Kano became a terminus point for visitors that included adventurers, scholars and merchants, thus all contributing to the development of a unique metropolitan center.

Note

1. The *Tarikh Kano* or Kano Chronicle is one of the most authentic sources of the history of Kano and the Hausa states. It was written by an anonymous person and it covered the first millennium of Kano's history from 999 to 1804. The second sources written by the Islamic Jihadists and European travelers covered 1804-1903. Since then most of the documents could be obtained from official versions of the colonial administrations up to 1960 when Nigerian rulers took over government. Research students had written a lot on the area using many of these sources.

Part I

The Historical Perspectives

CHAPTER ONE

Nations, Nation-States and the Future of Mankind: Some Observations on the Historical Experience of the Formation of *Kanawa* in the 2nd Millennium A.D

Yusufu Bala Usman
(1945-2005)
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The end, and the beginning, of the day and of the night, of the seasons, of the solar and lunar years, of decades, of centuries and of millennia, regularly pose to mankind the question of its future. In tackling that question; mankind comes face to face with the reality of the primacy of motion in the natural world and in human society. For millennia, the primacy of motion in the existence of the heavenly bodies has been recognized and accepted. It is even used by astrologers to seek answers to questions about the future.

More recently, the primacy of motion in the composition of the elements constituting all forms of matter, including the heavenly bodies, and all the cells of all living

things, has been recognized. The study of this has led to tremendous advances in scientific knowledge and in technology. But, the recognition of the primacy of motion in the composition and motion of human society, and in the substance and forms of human groups and the relationships between these groups, is widely resisted. It is defined and evaded, in various ways.

One dimension of human society where this denial and evasion have become very serious, with far-reaching implications, is over the nature and forms of the political communities in which human beings live, are organized and relate to one another within and right across the continents. These observations are intended to draw attention to these, with particular reference to the ways the concepts of "the nation" and "the nation-state" have come to be used to obscure the realities of history, and to make projections about the future of mankind which have no basis in the actual historical process of the formation and transformation of the political communities in which mankind is organized. The historical experience of the formation of the Kanawa, from the evidence available, provides one of the best examples of how misleading these concepts are, and is used here to illustrate these observations. Due to the very limited time available for putting together this contribution, however, these observations are rather sketchy and generalized.

The Premise

The attainment by European imperialism of, military, technological, economic and financial dominance over almost all sections of mankind, during the nineteenth century, was accompanied by the ideological imposition, world-wide, of a

distinct perspective on the nature and form of political communities everywhere.

The basic premise of this perspective is that mankind has always been made up of distinct races, which are distinct biological entities, with distinctive physiological, mental and emotional attributes. Each race is said to be composed of distinct nations, made up of populations of largely the same racial stock, existing as distinct entities on their own territory, with their language, cultures and identities, going back thousands of years. This is the racio-ethnic conception of the nation. The term, "tribe", "ethnic group" and "nationality" are applied to smaller, or more dispersed, racio-ethnic groups, which are yet to attain nationhood, as they are seen to be economically, culturally and politically backward in comparison with the nations of Europe, which are presented as representing the standard model of the nation.

This conception of the nation which European imperialism has imposed on the world since the nineteenth century is racio-ethnic, because it views the nation as a natural community produced essentially by biological processes and linked together by "blood ties", irrespective of language, culture, religion, territorial location and political loyalty and identity.

The present nationality law of Germany is one of the best examples of the legal manifestation of this conception. Under this law, you cannot be a German citizen unless you have what is called "German blood", in your veins. Once you can prove that you are of German ancestry, and you have "German blood" through the male or the female line, you automatically get German citizenship, even if you do not

speak the German language, have never been to Germany and hardly know anything about Germany or German culture.

Several millions of migrants into Germany, from Central and Eastern Europe, have on this basis, been given German citizenship. But the 7.4 million Poles, Turks, Serbs, Kurds, Asians, West and North Africans, working in Germany for decades, many of whom were born there, and can only speak German and know no other country, are denied German citizenship because they have no "German blood" in them. Other European countries have provisions along these lines in their nationality and citizenship laws, but they are not as brazen as those of Germany.

The racio-ethnic conception of the nation which informs this position is at variance with other conceptions of the nation found with most other sections of mankind and these conceptions have much deeper and wider roots all over the world.

These conceptions view the nation as essentially a political community, which may be multi-ethnic and even multi-racial, but whose citizens share closely related historical experiences and are bound by common citizenship and see themselves and are seen by others in a distinct political entity with defined territorial and other sovereign rights. Some of the conceptions of the nation within this broad type emphasize shared habitation and territoriality. Others emphasize common religious faith and cultural values. But what they all do not insist on is race, ancestry and blood ties.

But although the racio-ethnic conception of the nation is a peculiar one, it has been imposed together with the concept of "the nation-state". This is supposed to be a political community in which it claims ownership.

For most of mankind, this conception of the "nation-state" is an aberration. Yet for most of the period since the Second World War, most of Humanity has been expected to aspire to this peculiar type of nationhood and statehood, emanating from nineteenth century European contestations and conflicts.

The Future

Before we are even clear about what we are expected to turn our political communities into, it is now widely propagated that this entity known as the nation-state is no longer viable or useful. It is said to have become redundant, and in some areas, like in Africa, to be destructive of peace, harmony and human development. A number of factors are said to be responsible for this. One of them is said to be the resurgence of sub-nation, anti-national, ethnic and communal consciousness, identity and organization, which challenge and reject the existing nation-state and are seeking to retain only formal links with it, or secede from it altogether. The nation-state is also said to be challenged by other "primordial" forces, in the form of fundamentalist, Christian, Islamic, Hindi and Jewish, and other religious and cultural movements, which, in the name of the purification and protection of religion and culture, reject the nation-state and its claims to secularity and 'modernity". The nation-state is said to have helped to create the conditions for these challenges to arise and to become serious, because of what is said to have been its failure in nation building, in the postcolonial milieu, where it is said to be virtually under siege.

It is in the light of what is said to be the failure of the nation-state that the future development of the postcolonial

societies of Africa, the Caribbean, South and South-East Asia and the Pacific, is said to require the building of new types of political communities, based on the formal recognition and empowerment of the sub-national ethnic and communal groups, which are said to have re-emerged to assert the rights of all those subjugate and marginalized by the power structures of the nation-state.

The other challenge to the nation-state, which is said to have made it unviable and redundant, is said to come from what is called "globalization". This is said to be the process starting from the 1980s, which, as a result of certain economic and technological changes, particularly in the organization and structure of transnational corporations and in satellite and computer technology, has integrated almost every part of this planet, in a way in which it has never been done before. The development and application of digital technology and of fiber optics, among other technological advances, have made it possible for information to be communicated and processed in massive amounts, and in seconds, from any part of the world to another. This together with the new corporate business organization, in the high-tech, finance and service sectors, is said to have created a single global economy, which has simply bypassed the horizon, the frontiers and the regulations of even the most developed of the model nation-states.

For the nation-states of Europe and North America, the future, beyond the nation-state, is said to be in the regional organizations they have already formed, particularly the European Union and the North American Free Trade Area, and the harmonization and eventual integration of these. For those of us in Africa, South and South-East Asia, the

Caribbean and the Pacific, the future is said to be in restoring sovereignty to the component nationalities of the nation-states and arranging for either a peaceful break-up of the nation-state or some confederal arrangement. Any failure to face up this future, and to act now, to break-up the existing nation-state, or set up some confederal arrangements, is supposed to inevitably lead to the intensification of ethnic conflicts, to civil war and genocide.

This projection of the future, is as far as we are concerned in Africa, most alarming. For, while Europe and North America moved towards integration into more cohesive, broader and powerful political communities, we either dismantle the existing nation-states like Nigeria, India or Indonesia by allowing the component nationalities to set up sovereign nation-states on their own or transform into confederations, or run the risk of sinking into chronic civil wars. Whichever of the three alternatives prevails, we appear to be doomed to further economic, cultural and political retardation and to further and more permanent subjugation to the large power blocs of Europe and North America. The consequence of this projection of the future and the alternative possibilities it sets before us is to undermine our confidence in our ability to control our destiny. It also paralyses our will to stand up and face up to the challenges of the next millennium. But is this projection of the future meaningful? Is it based on the realities of the historical development of political communities here and in the rest of the world?

We have therefore, no alternative but to critically analyze this projection of the future, going right down to the basic premises and concepts that inform it. And this is where the historical experience of the formation of the Kanawa,

before and during the second millennium, becomes relevant and significant for formulating our plans and strategies for tackling the challenges of the next millennium.

The Kasar Kano

When we turn to the available evidence of the history of Kano, before and during the second millennium AD, we find that the concepts of "the nation" "nationality" "tribe", "ethnic group" and "the nation—state" as imposed on the rest of the world by European imperialism, since the nineteenth century, are not applicable and are misleading. The *Kanawa*, the citizens of the sovereign kingdom of the *Kasar Kano*, were not a racio-ethnic entity. In fact, the key historical process of their formation in the second millennium is the migration into, and within, the area that came to be known as the *Kasar* Kano of people of diverse origin, from all over Northern and Western Africa, who came to be absorbed, assimilated and incorporated as the subjects of the *Sarkin Kano* and the citizens of the *Kasar Kano*.

A reading of the available evidence, including the archaeological and ecological, would indicate that a geopolitical entity made up of a distinct network of t*ungaye* (hamlets) *kauyuka* (villages), *garuruwa* (towns) and *birane* (cities) had emerged in parts of what came to be the *Kasar* Kano even before the establishment of the *Birnin Kano* and of the institution of *Sarkin Kano*. In other words, the establishment of the *sarauta* system centred on the Sarkin Kano and the *Birnin Kano* about one thousand years ago, was a key turning point in the establishment of the *Kasar Kano* and the formation of the *Kanawa*; but was not the beginning of this process.

It seems that well before the end of the first millennium A.D, a distinct type of economy had begun to emerge in what has come to be known as the Kano close-settled zone, and perhaps elsewhere. The key features of that economy seem to have been intensive, permanent cultivation of cereals and legumes; livestock rearing particularly small ruminants; textiles, leather and iron—working and extensive local and long-distance trading in basic agricultural and manufactured products.

A recent study by Frances Harris has brought out the factors that made the intensive farming on the Kano close-settled zone possible.[1] Among these are the recycling of nutrients through the use of crop residue as fodder for livestock, high labor availability and high labor/land ratio and dispersed settlement pattern, with the farmers living in compounds and hamlets very close to their farms.[2]

Patrick Darling has pointed to the existence of thousands of' furnace bottoms in the Roni-Kazaure Hills, in the area of Sheme, where Bagauda is said to have ruled.[3] From the slag heaps, Darling says that this area has "one of the largest concentrations of iron-smelting works in the African continent."[4] From the dating of one of the furnaces, 2400 BC-1100, he raises the possibility that this part of the *Kasar Kano* is part of the area of West Africa in which we may find the origins of iron-smelting for the African continent and possibly even for the world.[5]

Putting all these together, we may find that the drought and famine recorded in the Song of Bagauda, which is reported to have brought large numbers of migrants to Kano, was only a "push" factor, as the demographers would say; and was probably not as important as the "pull" factors,

which led to the high density of population, building up over several centuries, which had produced a distinct entity which the institution of the *Sarkin Kano* was produced to subjugate as the *Kasar Kano.*

The evidence available indicates that the *Kanawa* did not have their origin as a segment of some racial or ethnic group, or as a distinct race or ethnic group, on their own right. The *Kanawa* are not bound by blood ties inherited from some common ancestor or ancestors. Even the Bayajidda-Bawo legend, which is sometimes misrepresented to be made to appear to be about the origin of the Hausa-speaking people, does not ascribe an ancestor for the *Kanawa* or for the Hausawa, or the *Hausa Bakwai*. The legend was about dynastic changes in already existing states.

The Content and the Context

All this should not be read to mean that the area that became the *Kasar Kano* was empty of inhabitants before the development of the network of intensive, permanent agriculture, iron-working, other manufacture and commerce, that brought in migrants from neighbouring areas and from many parts of Northern and Western Africa. There were inhabitants who were by all standards the autochthons of the various settlements. At some of these like Santolo, Birnin Kudu and Tamburawa evidence of Late Stone Age habitation has been found. What is being argued here is that it was migration within the area of the *Kasar Kano* and emigration from outside it, which produces the social, economic and cultural systems with a high capacity to absorb, assimilate and acculturate the *Kanawa* as a distinct nation of the Hausa-speaking people.

Since local and long-distance trade in basic not just luxury and exotic commodities was crucial to the type of economy that developed, emigration from the *Kasar Kano* to neighbouring areas, in connection with this commerce and with apprenticeships in technology was an important factor in determining who the *Kanawa* became in relation to others. The content of the entity known as the *Kanawa* was inseparable from the context of that entity.

For example, it is not clear when the name "Hausa" began to be applied to the language now known as Hausa. Or, to which dialects of the language it was first applied. If we go by current usage in the western Hausa dialects, the name was probably first applied to these western dialects, or to others which may have now disappeared. It is likely, however, that by the 17th century the notion of Hausa Bakwai had developed and the *Kanawa* would have been seen as belonging to this larger entity.

But by that time it is likely that the *Kanawa*, perhaps largely the *sarakuna,* the *attajirai,* the *masu sana'a,* and the *ulama* already saw themselves as belonging to the *bilad as-Sudan,* and to the larger, universal community of the d*ar-al-Islam.*

The evidence available regarding the role of the Wangarawa, of Muhammad b. Abd-al-Karim al-Maghili, the relations with the Mai's of Borno and with the rulers of Katsina and Songhai; together with the significance of the scholars and merchants, all point to the possibility that the *Kasar* Hausa, or more precisely, the Hausa Bakwai, came to be significant as a context only with the conflicts and crises arising from the rise and expansion of the Gobirawa in the eighteenth century that is after the broader context of the *bilad-*

as-Sudan and the *dar-al-Islam* had taken root, even beyond the intelligentsia and the ruling class.

The economic, financial, religious, cultural and political incorporation of Kano as part of these larger continental and universal political communities would further facilitate its assimilation of migrants and its sending out its own people as emigrants to various parts of Northern and Western Africa, the Mediterranean region and the Middle East. The substantial scale of immigration into Kano from Borno would itself enhance this incorporation.

The Emirate of Kano

The political community of the Kanawa at the beginning of the second millennium was not the same as the political community which was taken over by the *juma'a* of Kano and incorporated as an emirate of the Sokoto Caliphate, in terms of the *asali* (origin) and *salsala* (genealogy) of its citizens and slaves. It was far more heterogeneous. This is brought out in the Kano Chronicle and in the written sources and oral traditions collected and used by Abubakar Dokaji and Abdullahi Mahadi.[6]

But the difference between the *Kanawa* in the reign of Sarkin Kano Warisi, son of Bagauda (c.1063-1095) and the *Kanawa* in the reign Sarkin Kano Muhammad Alwali (c. 1781-1807), was more than a matter of greater heterogeneity in their origins. Far reaching transformations of the economy, demography, settlements, culture and the impact of the penetration of Islam into the public and private spheres of life, which accompanied all this, had made it difficult to continue to legitimize the government of Kano on any other basis than on Islam. The Sarkin Kano Alwali is reported not only to have

refused to make sacrifices to a fetish known as the *Dirki* but he also had the *Dirki* cut open with axes[7]. It is said that a copy of the Koran was found inside it. It is not surprising, therefore, that Alwali himself was said to have been personally inclined to accept the call of the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, and join the Sarkin Zazzau Ishak, and change over from a *sarki* to an Emir. All this indicates how powerful Islam had become in determining the basis of political conduct and of political legitimacy among the *Kanawa* by the early nineteenth century.

A measure of the extent of the Islamization of society and of political discourse and political practice in Kano is that the resistance to the emirate form of government under the Emir Ibrahim Dabo (c. I 819- 1846) and subsequent emirs, was hardly tribalized into a *Habe* versus *Fulani* contest, as was the case in Kebbi, Gwandu, Sokoto/Gobir, Sokoto/Zamfara, Katsina and Zazzau. The term "Fulani" in the political discourse of the Emirate of Kano came to mean members of the ruling aristocracy drawn from the leading families of the *jama'a* of Kano while Habe came to be applied to the inhabitants of the old quarters of the city, largely merchants and artisans, away from the mansions of the aristocracy around the Emirs Palace. The distinction has remained with its local resonance, but it never served as a base for challenging the emirate and its incorporation of Kano into the Sokoto Caliphate.

Even when the Kano Civil War (1893-95) broke out over a succession dispute within the ruling Sullubawa dynasty, the incorporation of the *Kanawa* within the Sokoto polity, and under its Caliph, was not seriously called into question. The Habe-Fulani dichotomy did not seem to have featured in any significant way in that conflict.

Recent Experience

Perhaps the single most dramatic consequence of the colonial conquest and of colonial domination of the Emirate of Kano on the composition of the *Kanawa* was the abolishing of slavery and the immediate increase in the number of *Kanawa* with the status of citizens. The number of slaves freed is being debated, but there seems to be no doubt that their emancipation increased significantly the number of people who were and saw themselves as *Kanawa*, whatever their origins.

Slavery had, throughout the second millennium, been one of the means used to populate the *Birnin Kano* and provide the high labor/land ratio required for the type of intensive farming and widespread rural industry developed in the *Kasar Kano*. The ending of slavery did not seem to have led to the depopulation of the areas where the slave population was significant**.** What it did was largely to increase the number of citizens of Kano, now a part of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.

When the emancipation of the slaves was accompanied by the "pull" factors favoring migration into Kano from other parts of colonial Nigeria, the *asali* element in the formation of the *Kanawa* became even less important. Migrants from the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples of the Chad Basin, from the Biu Plateau, the Gwoza and the Mandara Mountains literally flooded into the urban and rural areas of Kano where earnings and employment opportunities were better than almost anywhere in Northern Nigeria. Emigration into Kano, particularly to the urban areas from the Niger-Benue Confluence Area brought in the Nupe, Igbirra, Igala and the Northern Edo. Together with the Yoruba and lgbo, these came

to form a significant portion of the population, not only in the *Birnin Kano* and its suburbs but even in the other cities and major towns of Kano.

The extent of this migration is covered up by the relatively high rate of absorption and assimilation of the emigrants, particularly those who are Muslims, or at least not fervent Christians; and by the focus on Kano metropolis and the neglect of the flow of emigrants into the rural areas and the other cities and towns.

The emigration of the *Kanawa* to various parts of Nigeria and of Western and Northern Africa continued and was accompanied by immigration into Kano from these areas. The range now extends down beyond the Zambezi in the south and beyond Saudi Arabia to the Gulf Sheikhdoms in the east. This process is not only changing the larger context in which the *Kanawa* live and are reproduced but is changing the nature of' the *Kanawa* nationality.

Conclusion

The historical experience of the formation of the *Kanawa* shows that the concept of the "nation" and the "nation-state" imposed on the world by European imperialism since the nineteenth century is inadequate and misleading because it denies the primacy of motion and of change in the formation of these entities. Nations and nation—states have, largely, not arisen from distinct races, with their segments becoming distinct nations and building nation—states over the territories they possess. Nations and nation—states have arisen from the process of the integration of peoples of diverse origin whose concept and context keep changing over time as a result of the various forces that come to influence them. In

other words, nations, nationalities and nation—states are not biological entities held together by blood ties, but political entities formed by geography and history and the imperatives of territoriality and communication arising from these.

A nation or nationality as a biologically defined natural community, linked by blood ties and possessing its own territory is a fantasy of nineteenth century European nationalism which European imperialism has since imposed on the rest of the world. Such nations, bypassed by the pastoral and agricultural revolution of the last ten millennia, may be found hidden in some obscure corner of the globe. But for almost all of mankind, the development of the economy and the social and cultural imperatives imposed by the division of labor, diverse ecological niches and generally by territoriality have made the continuation of these racio—ethnic entities almost impossible.

The future of mankind, therefore, is not likely to be determined by the bypassing of the nation-state, because this "nation-state'' which is said to have been bypassed has never really existed anywhere outside the ideological context of European romanticism. The existing nation-states constituting the United Nations, are as diverse in their composition, content and structure as the historical experience of' mankind. What we have to do is to grasp the realities of the historical experience that has produced us and in the light of the present and future circumstances and needs of our people, work out, and get down to building the future, on the basis of foundations which are rooted in our actual historical experience. That is the only way we can show that we know where we are coming from and where we are going.

Notes and References

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CHAPTER TWO

The Place of Kano in the Intellectual History of Bilad Al-Sudan

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Kano's Position in Hausaland

Of all the states of Hausaland, Kano seems to have occupied a strategic position with regard to location, economy, industry and commerce. Its cosmopolitan character as a center of commerce for many centuries has distinguished it as one of the most urbanized metropolis not only in the West African region but also in Africa. The unique socio-political and economic development in the territory of Kano spanned many historical epochs beginning with settlement around *Dala* in the pre-*Bagauda* era up to the present time when Kano came to be recognized as one of the relatively developed areas in Africa. Trade, commerce and industry have become a permanent feature of Kano from time immemorial.

As far as historical records are concerned, Kano also seems to be the luckiest of all the pre-nineteenth century jihad states of Hausaland by preserving one of the most significant documents which deal with evolution and transformation of state form the time the 'legendary' Barbushe, regarded by

many as the progenitor of *Kanawa* and who was characteristically described in *Tarikh Kano* popularly known as Kano Chronicle as "a black man of great stature and might. A hunter who slew elephants with his stick and carried them on his head about nine miles" [1]

As far as religious rites are concerned, it is Barbushe who inherited the love of Dala from his ancestors and that it was through his manipulations of wonders and sorceries that he was able to outwit his brothers and establish himself as the unchallenged lord of the area.[2]

Consequently "from Toda to Danboshi and from Doji to Dankwai all the people flocked to Barbushe on the two nights of Idi for he was all powerful at the sacrificial rites".[3] To establish his full legendary control over his rivals, Barbushe is said to have made himself the custodian of the cult of *Tsumburbura* and hence his *kirari*:

I am the heir of Dala, like it or not,
Follow me, ye must per force.[4]

It is significant to note here that despite his seemingly absolute control over his subjects and his effective manipulation and custody of the shrine of *Shamu*, Barbushe was reported to have 'predicted' the demise of the epoch and its transcendental replacement by a new religion which would be brought by a stranger who would upset their belief system and replace it with his own[5]. The inevitability of such catastrophic danger had made Barbushe to be frank with his subjects as regards the fate of their domain and as *Tarikh Kano* has aptly put it "...their dominion should be wrested from them and their tree cut down and burnt and how this mosque should be built."[6]

Islam in Kano

The early prediction purported to have been made by the lord of Kano, Barbushe, did not materialize immediately after his death, but had to wait until the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499), who on the advice of the stranger of Kano Chronicle, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman, is reported to have built a mosque and to have cut down the sacred tree and construct a minaret on the site. According to the statement of Kano Chronicle, it was the *Sharifawa*, the *Sherifs*, led by the leader, 'Abd al-Rahman, who subsequently lived in Kano and established Islam there. "He (Abdurrahman), brought with him many books"[7] which later laid down the foundation of Islamic scholarship in Kano in particular and the rest of Hausaland in general. However, a documented story by *Tarikh Kano* attributed the introduction of Islam in Kano to a migrant group 'the *Wangarawa'* who came from Melle (Mali) during the reign of Yaji Dan Tsamiya (1349-1385) bringing the Muhammadan religion" along with them. The Wangarawa were also reported to have commanded the ruler of Kano to observe the daily prayers.[8]

However, *Asl al-Wangariyin* which is another important source of information on the history of Kano, gave the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (AD 1499) as the time of arrival of the Wangarawa in Kano[9]. *Asl al-Wangariyin* informs us further that the leader of the Wangarawa group, Shaykh Abd al-Rahman Zaite, was accompanied on his intended pilgrimage to Mecca by a large contingent of his followers who included three thousand six hundred scholars'°. Compelled by certain unidentified circumstances the *Wangara* scholars decided to settle in Kano, to strengthen and consolidate the position of Islam there and the rest of Hausa land.[11]

In the fifteenth century and during the reign of Yaqub b.'Abdullahi Burja (1452-1463), another wave of migrating scholars was recorded in Kano. This time it was a group of Fulani scholars from the area of western Sudan (Melle) who came to supplement the activities of the Wangarawa *'Ulama*[12].

In the fifteenth century, Kano was a scene of immigration of scholars but this time from Borno. The group came in company of an exiled prince, Dagaci, at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Book Culture in Kano

From all indications, it seems probable that beside reading the Qur'an, literary studies in Kano started at an early stage with the *Maliki Madhhab* books of Islamic jurisprudence like *al-Mudawwana al-Kubra* of Abd al-.Salam b. Said Sahnun al-Tanukhi (d.854). In the wording of *Asl al-Wangariyin*, the Wangarawa scholars studied it and knew it by heart"[14]. The famous book, *al-Mukhtasar* of Khalil b. Ishaq (d. 1356/66), is said to have been brought to Kano by an Egyptian scholar. The introduction of this vital book of jurisprudence seems to have generated a lot of excitement among the scholars of Kano and as '*Asl al-Wangariyin* puts it "a man came from Egypt together with his students and began to teach people *al-Khalil*, a book which people heard of but never seen before. The news spread among the people that a man from the east came with a book called *al-Khalil* which captivated the people by its branches and roots[15].

Works such as *al-Mudawwana, Mukhtasar Khalil* and *Risalat* Ibn 'Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani, still provide the necessary guidelines for the students of *Maliki* jurisprudence, the predominant *Madhhab* in Hausaland, to act and run their

socio-economic and political life in accordance with the precepts of *Maliki* school of thought. It is a common place that the *Maliki Madhhab* was introduced to the west and central *Biladal-Sudan* from North Africa, right from the time the states formation in these areas came into contact with Islam. Subsequently, through the activities of the networks of *'Ulama* in Kano, Katsina, Zazzau, Borno and rest of the central *Bilad-al-Sudan,* Islamic literature was being diffused at different levels of learning to the extent that as centuries went by, the scholars of the area began to make commentaries on these books with a view to simplifying them and rendering them comprehensible to the students of learning. A further simplification has been made by way of interpreting and translating such works into the indigenous languages of the people of the area.

Scholarship in Kano

The link which Hausaland had established with western Sudan, North Africa and Borno from the fourteenth century was opportunity for exchange of merchandise and ideas. Traders and scholars and often scholar-traders had been traversing the area with a view to exchanging their commodities and ideas. In the process a cross-fertilization of ideas and diffusion of material, spiritual and intellectual culture was taking place. Some of the scholars such as the Wangarawa and Sharifawa chose to settle and integrate in the societies of Hausaland, especially Katsina and Kano which acted as 'desert' ports linking Hausaland to other parts of the Muslim world especially Marakesh, Fezzan and Tripolitania across the desert to Egypt and Hijaz[16].

There is every indication to show that centers of learning in Hausaland had witnessed considerable expansion right from the fifteenth century. This interesting development had attracted the attention of certain scholars from the *Mashriq* (east) and the *Maghrib* (west). One of the notable scholars who visited Kano was Shaykh AbdulRahman Sojain, a disciple of the famous scholar Ibn al-Ghazi. Shaykh Abdul-Rahman who came from Egypt established himself in one of the schools in Kano, teaching his students different branches of knowledge. Another scholar of note, who visited Hausaland, this time from Timbuktu, was Shaykh 'Umar b. Muhammad 'Atiq, the grandfather of the famous scholar Ahmad Baba al-Timbuktu. He is reported to have sojourned in Kano and Katsina for a long period on his return journey from Mecca. His visit to Kano took place before the death of King of Songhay Askia Muhammad in l492.[17] Al-Shaykh Makhluf b.'Ali b. Saleh al-Bilbali was one of the famous scholars who lived in Kano. Shaykh Makhluf is noted as an outstanding scholar who memorized *Sahih-al Bukhari* by heart and thus his fame as *al-Hafiz* (the memorizer). He came to Hausaland, especially Kano and Katsina and taught the people there. He also engaged in intellectual polemics with Shaykh al-'Aqib al-'Ansummani before his visit to Timbuktu and Marakkesh where it was alleged that he was poisoned and died[18].

Reform in Kano

The reign of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa (1463–1499) is considered to be a period of transformation and reform as far as Islam is concerned. By such a time, Islam is said to have made in-roads in Hausaland in general and Kano in particular. Muhammadu Rumfa did not only adopt Islam as

State religion *per se* but encouraged and patronized the scholars to teach and preach in his domain without any hindrance. He is said to have initiated many reforms in line with the spirit of Islam within his own political institutions and was responsible for the abolition and, demolition of many syncretistic tradition which ran contrary to the Islamic injunctions[19]. According to Hassan Gwarzo, some of the reforms which Rumfa has introduced were in the area of civil department such as *Bait al-Mal* (treasury). The offices of *Turaki* and *Kashekusa,* the first is responsible for the custody of property left by the deceased person having no heirs, and the second is a Hausa translation of Arabic, *al-sarraf,* was introduced by Rumfa for the first time. Likewise, the office of *Ma'aji* made its first appearance during this time[20].

Al-Maghili in Kano

By the fifteenth century, Hausaland had opened up to wider Muslim world linking the area to the Islamic centers in Qairawan, Tuwat, Telemcen, Marakesh and the rest. In the process trade and knowledge became the most important commodities of exchange between the people of Northern Africa on one hand and the people of central Sudan, on the other hand, particularly Hausaland. Kano and Katsina became the center of knowledge and commerce.

However, the arrival of the celebrated scholar, Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd al-Karim al-MaghiIi al Tilmisani, from the area of Tuwat in the present Algeria had a great impact as far as learning is concerned and more importantly Islamic reforms. Al-Maghili is said to have left his area, Tuwat, because of policy disagreement with the rulers of the areas who prefer to deal commercially with the Jewish community.[22]

Al-Maghili is said to have visited Air and then successively Takidda, Kano, Katsina before leaving for Gao, the capital of the Askia the Great. Muhammad Ibn Abd-al Karim al-Maghili was a revolutionary scholar by all standards, and it was through his sojourn in Kano and especially his association with Sarki Muhammad Rumfa that he was able, as an adviser, to introduce far-reaching reforms in the area of administration, constitution, and social and economic affairs of the inhabitants of the area.

A constitution was written by al-Maghili at the request of Sarki Muhammad Rumfa to guide him on how to effectively rule his people in accordance with the *Sharia*. The treatise, *Taj al-Din fi ma yajib alal-Muluk*, provided important guidelines for the rulers of Kano, and by extension, the rulers of Hausaland. In the constitution the ruler was advised to cater for the welfare of his subjects and also to be lenient with them. Corruption was another area which *Taj al-Din* touched. Al-Maghili admonished the rulers to shun corruption with all its attendant ramifications and as he put it "show your hatred of corruption and corrupt people." The rulers were further admonished to refrain from wearing silk, gold and silver. Furthermore, only honest and trustworthy people should be brought into the government. Judicious management in the area of administration was one of the topics which al-Maghili had tackled in *Taj al -Din*. Al-Maghili, probably noticing the abject condition in which the *talakawa* languished, advised the ruler to pay particular attention to the orphans, the abandoned and feeble-minded persons. A complete overhaul of State administrative machinery was espoused by Al-Maghili in such a way that the ruler is obliged to appoint an advisory council to advise him in matters of administration of State. Also a

treasury, scribes, accountants to keep records and ensure accountability and integrity should be appointed. Al- Maghili had further advised that only learned men would be in charge of these offices. The appointment of Judges, Governors and Viziers are also some of the proposals put to Rumfa by al-Maghili. More significantly, the accessibility of the rulers to their subjects to hear their complaints and ensure justice is one of the fundamental issues which al-Maghili had treated in his constitution.[27] The scope of recommendations which Al-Maghili had made in *Taj al - Din* suggests the level of sophistication of Kano, as far as the area of administration is concerned. There is every reason to believe that many of the suggestions made by Al-Maghili to the ruler of Kano were accepted and implemented.[28]

Another important treatise written by Muhammad b. al Karim al-Maghili to Rumfa at his own request was *Jumla Mukhtasara* or "a Brief Note." The *Wasiyya Jumla Mukhtasara* was written in 1874/5. The *Wasiyya* treats specific issues relating to legal punishments (*Ta'zir*). Issues relating to such offences like drinking liquor, eating carrion, drinking blood of animals and other social vices were discussed by al- Maghili within the context of *Shari'a* law. The regulation of social interactions between the Muslim community and non-Muslim community of Kano were also discussed with a view to prohibiting the non-Muslim pagans from eating or drinking openly in *Ramadan* to avoid imitation or provocation and in the words of Al-Maghili:

> "If they (the infidels) are left to show polytheism, drinking liquor, eating during fasting hours in Ramadan, committing adultery or fornication or other abomination and errors of

> their kind that will be an excuse for the weak-minded from the common people to follow suit"[29].

The thorny issue of market reforms was one of the topics tackled by al-Maghili in his advice to Rumfa. The same could be said of regulating trade and business transactions. The objective is to avoid cheating, fraud and profiteering which was counter to the spirit of the *Shari'a*. Certain modes of punishments to deter those committing such illegal acts were recommended by al-Maghili and as he puts it categorically:

> "Whoever tampers with the weights and measures but refuses to refrain from trading with them, take them and use them for the interest of Muslim. But he who does not cheat with them and does not refuse to stop trading with them order him to have them repaired if he wants to use them in trading transactions"[30]

Likewise:

> "He who selects what comes to the market of food or any other commodities and buys such before or after it reaches the market and sells it to people and does not desist from doing except by being expelled or have those goods confiscated then do that and do not demur."

One may agree with the author that up till now that is, about four hundred and fifty years from the time al-Maghili had written his treatise, such malpractices abound in Kano and Nigeria. Specific mention will be made here of monopolies for trading purposes. The persistence of these bad practices involves the whole strata of the society. And that the various attempts at regulating trade and business transactions by successive governments are mere window-dressing and superficial moves meant for public consumption. Equal status

of human race was one of the reforms advocated by al-Maghili to the rulers and in the light of the *Shari'a* policy al-Maghili advocates that:

> "people are equal before the laws of Allah and his messenger, nobody should be exempted from this rule even if he is a "learned man," "pious one," a "*Sharif*" or an "*Amil* (labourer)" ...Treat everyone with what suits him according to his stand in respect of good or evil, humility, tyranny…[21]

By stating the above al-Maghili hopes for a balance within the social strata of the society. The advocacy of such an Islamic injunction was bound to have great effect later in the 19th century Hausaland, the society that was divided strictly speaking along the two well-defined lines of Masu Sarauta (the ruling class) and the *Talakawa* (the commoners) whose right before the introduction and acceptance of *Shari'a* were arbitrary. Such a sharp contradiction between the practice of the rulers in Hausaland and the teachings of Islam might have prompted Shaykh Uthman b. Fodi, the leader of 19th century jihad in Hausaland to declare a jihad against the rulers as he stated in *kitab al-Farq*:

> "One of their Governmental practices (Hausa rulers) is imposing on the people monies not laid down by the Shari'a, being those which they called Jangali and Kudin Shari'a and kudin saliah…"[32]

In the area of scholarship, al-Maghili is reported to have acted as a teacher of teachers and also to have written many books. Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti has listed in his biographical dictionary, *Nayl al-Ibtihaj*, fifteen works written by Muhammad b. Abd al- Karim al-Maghili. His writings were

on jurisprudence and language, politics and reform of governments[33].

The Impact of the Sokoto Jihad on the Intellectual Life of Kano

The 19th century Hausaland was a scene of an Islamic revolutionary movement led by Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi (d.1817). The Sokoto jihad of Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi has been rightly described as an intellectual revolution, i.e. a jihad which was led by scholars. The Sokoto jihad succeeded among other things in the overthrow of Hausa Monarchs and the establishment of Sokoto Caliphal State, which subsequently transformed all the Hausa States and many of the State formations in the Central and Western Bilad al-Sudan. It lasted for one hundred years i.e. 1804-1903. One of the characteristic features of the Sokoto jihad was that it was led by Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi and his disciples who were later given flags to wage jihad in their respective areas.

One of the *Ulama* who was assigned the responsibility of conducting jihad in his area was Malam Sulaiman, a pious and humble scholar from Kano. Malam Sulaiman, after the overthrow of the *sarauta* system in Kano by his *Jama'a* established an emirate-type administration responsible to the *Amir al-Mu'minin* in Sokoto for running of affairs of Kano Emirate in accordance with the *Shari'a.* The advent of Sokoto jihad leadership in Kano was bound to have had a great impact on the social and intellectual life of the inhabitants of the area, The Muslim population in Kano and the rest of Hausaland and beyond became aware of their duties and responsibilities and that Islam is not an elitist religion; it is the religion of whole Muslim *Umma.* The humility of the Emir of

Kano had endeared him to the responsible *Ulama* and the common people who rallied around him to foster the cause of Islam.

A significant indication of the role and the impact of the Sokoto jihad on the socio-political life of the Kano people were the arrival and sojourn of Shaykh Abdullahi b. Fudi for a while in Kano in 1807. According to some sources it was due to deviation from the ideals of the jihad that he decided to go on exile and embark on a journey to Mecca. As he put:

> "Changing times and my brothers, their inclination towards the world and their squabbling over its possession and it's wealth and it's regards together with their abandoning their upkeep of the mosque and the schools and other things besides that."[34]

This forced him to abandon the army and embark on his intended journey. However, on his arrival to Kano, the *jama'a* of Kano had persuaded him to suspend his journey to Mecca and teach them the various branches of knowledge for which he was well known.[35] During his stay in Kano and before his return to Sokoto on persuasion from Amir Muhammad Bello and his elder brother Uthman b. Fudi, Abdullahi is said to have read the *Tafsir* of the whole Qur'an to his audience in Kano. His famous *Tafsir, Diya ul-Tawil Fi ma'ani al-Tanzil* was an outcome of his activities in Kano.[36] Abdullahi b. Fudi as an erudite scholar is said to have written also a constitution to guide the various Emirs in Sokoto caliphate, in Kano. The book *Diya'ul- Hukkam*[37] is regarded as one of the most important sources of Islamic constitution. It laid down the constitutional framework of the operation of the various

institutions of government and administrative structures of state. In this regard Kano is lucky to have witnessed the writings of two constitutions before the advent of colonial government, one by al-Maghili in the fifteenth century and another by Shaykh Abdullahi b. Fudi in the nineteenth century. Abdullahi b. Fudi, in narrating his experience with the people of Kano, had said that at the beginning he was shocked by the social vices from which he ran away, but after his school encounters with the *jama'a* of Kano and as a consequence of his teachings, the people of the area had thrown out their drumming instruments and used them as fodder for their animals.[38]

The Sufi Orders in Kano

Probably, from the nineteenth century to date Kano, could be considered as one of the centers of the Sufi brotherhood notably, the Qadiriyya and Tijjaniyya, the two most dominant Sufi brotherhoods in West Africa. According to some 'unconfirmed' sources the introduction of the Qadiriyya literature was attributed to Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Abd al - Karim al Maghili.[39] As for the Tijjaniyya it was either introduced to Kano by Shaykh Umar al-Futi, the founder of the Tijjaniyya state in Western Sudan in early nineteenth century on his way to and from Hijaz[40] or re-enforced by him as suggested by Muhammad Al-Tahir Maigari.[41] Other branches of note to be found in Kano were *Samariyya* and *al-Shadhiliyya*.[42] John Paden included the *Mahdiyya* among the Sufi orders that are established in Kano and it has been associated with Shaykh Hayatu b. Sa'id, a descendent of Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi[4].

During the colonial and post-colonial era, both the *Qadiriyya* and *Tijjaniyya* orders had established themselves firmly in Kano. The two major Sufi brotherhoods in Kano are reported to have extended the fraternal relations to sister centers in North Africa, Mauritania, Western and Eastern Sudan and Iraq, thus consolidating the position of Kano as the unrivalled center of *Qadiriyya* in West Africa. The same could also be said of the *Tijjaniyya* especially in 1990s when Shaykh Ishaq Rabi'u was selected as the Khalifa of the *Tijjaniyya* in Nigeria. An explanation of this phenomenon in Kano may be found in the relative prosperity of Kano and the commitment of its Emirs and rich people there to patronize the brotherhood.

The patronage of the successive Emirs of Kano, namely Abdullahi Bayero, Muhammadu Sunusi and the present Emir Ado Bayero, of the Sufi orders particularly, the *Tijjaniyya*, to which they belonged and to some degree the *Qadiriyya* with which they established good relationship was a major factor in the spread and consolidation of the Sufi orders in Kano and the rest of the country.

As far as the *Qadiriyya* leadership is concerned, it is during the time of late Shaykh Nasir Kabara that the brotherhood witnessed intellectual renaissance reminiscent of 19th century. As the leader of the *Qadiriyya* brotherhood in West Africa, Shaykh Nasiru Kabara is reported not only to have expounded the teachings of *Qadiriyya* doctrines but to have written original exposition on different aspects of Sufism and other Islamic sciences, including his recently published *Tafsir* of the Qur'an. His writings had numbered according to some sources about 150 works; that was up to 1960's, putting him at par with Shaykh Ibrahim Nyas.[44] As for *Tijjaniyya,* one

could cite example of Shaykh Muhammad Salga, Sani Kafinga and Abubakar Atiku as Sufi scholars who contributed both spiritually and intellectually to the spread and consolidation of *Tijjaniyya* not only within Kano but beyond.[45] The direct connection which the "reformed" *Tijjaniyya* in Kano had established with Kolakh in Senegal right from 1930's and the blessing it has received from the successive Shaykhs of the *Tijjaniyya* orders there had signaled Kano as the most important center of the *Tijjaniyya* in Nigeria and probably beyond.[46]

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CHAPTER THREE

The Jihad in Kano From 1804 To 1890

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Jihad is any struggle for the sake of Allah. At the individual level, it is struggle against personal desires. At the communal, it is a collective struggle against injustice, corruption and evil in the society.[1] The absence of Shari'a in any society is the culmination of these ills. The struggle for the establishment of the Shari'a may become hot depending on the circumstances of the society. Jihad in this paper is restricted to armed struggle. Other forms of Jihad at the communal and societal levels include:

- War against *al-Bughat* or rebels, according to lbn Juzayy, who make false interpretation, or those who revolt against the Imam, or those who refuse to pay the *Zakat*. They are to be admonished and called back to the right path; and if they refuse it is permissible to shed their blood[2].
- *Al-Muharibun* (brigands): According to lbn Juzayy, they must be admonished, then warned three times in the name of Allah; if they refuse they should be fought[3]

The first Jihad in the period under review was for the establishment of Islamic government after the declaration of the caliphate by Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio. The Jihad against

rebels and hostile states was covered up to 1890 CE because the period after this should be treated under the theme of the Kano Civil War.

The *Jihad* movement led by Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio was the most influential political and religious movement in the 19th century (13th century After Hijra) central Sudan. The jihad brought about the collapse of some independent kingdoms of Hausaland and it incorporated them into an Islamic "confederation"[4] called the Sokoto Caliphate which was named after its headquarters. The Sokoto Caliphate was the first polity made up of diverse peoples in the central Sudan. It was also larger than any polity that existed before it.[5] Kano was among the Hausa Kingdoms incorporated into the Caliphate, it became a province of the Sokoto Caliphate known as an Emirate. The basis of legitimacy of the Caliphate was Islam and the Islamic legacy of the Caliphate has survived to the present day because Kano, since that period, has remained a Muslim community. The complexion of the Northern Nigerian society is also a legacy of the Sokoto Caliphate.[6]

Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio

A brief biography of the leader of the Sokoto Jihad will assist in understanding the nature of the Jihad movement in Kano. Shaykh al-Islam Uthman b. Muhammad Fudi[7] was born in Maratta (Gobir Kingdom) on Sunday 29th Safar 1168 (15th December, 1754). His father Muhammad, a descendant of Musa Jakolo, earned the name Fudi, 'the learned' in Fulfulde because of his knowledge.

The Shaykh studied and memorized the Qur'an at an early age under the guidance of his father. His most influential teachers from whom he learnt the important Islamic subjects were the famous Shaykh Jibril b. Umar, Shaykh Uthman Biddur lbn Al-Amin, Shaykh Ahmad Ibn Muhammad and Shaykh al-Hajj Muhammad Raj. The Shaykh started teaching and preaching at an early age of twenty years; this was in 1188 (1774-5). He continued studying according to the Islamic tradition of scholarship.[8]

The Shaykh was both a *faqih* and a *sufi.* This was the key of his success as a teacher, political theorist and leader. *Fiqh* is the science of deducing specific Islamic laws from the evidence found in the sources of the Shari'a which is fixed and unchangeable whereas, *fiqh* changes according to circumstances. The laws of Shari'a are general and contain basic principles and the laws of *fiqh* are specific and they demonstrate how the basic principles of Shari'a should be applied in given circumstances.[9] Because of his knowledge of *fiqh,* Shaykh Uthman was able to give judgments on some social and political practices of the peoples of Hausaland. He was a *mujtahid* (legist) of the Maliki School of *fiqh*.

On the other hand, Sufism or *Tasawwuf* is the science which enables a responsible Muslim to acquire praiseworthy qualities and to keep away from blameworthy attributes. The praiseworthy qualities are *taqwa,* consciousness of Allah; *tawba,* turning away from all acts of rebellion; *zuhd,* asceticism; *tawakkal,* trust and reliance in Allah; *ridha,* contentment with Allah's decree and; *kawf wal rafa,* fear and hope. Responsible Muslims are expected to purify their hearts from blameworthy attributes which are purification from the *waswas or* whispering of shaytan; *ujb,* conceit; *kibr, a*rrogance; *ama,* false

hope; *ghadab,* anger without grounds; *hasad,* envy and; *riy'a* showing off.[10] The Sufi training, which the Shaykh received, provided him with impetus for sincerity of purpose. Muhammad Bello has reported that:

> "Know that I saw him more than once standing in the corner of the house for a while uttering some words just before going out to people outside. And when I asked him about what he said, he replied: 'I revive my faith and make a vow to God that I shall be sincere in whatever I may say when I go out (to preach). I also ask Him to help those present to understand whatever I may talk about…[11]'

The spiritual affiliation of Shaykh Usman Dan-Fodio with Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jaylani (or al-Jilli), founder of the Qadiriyya sufi brotherhood, has been documented by Shaykhs Abdullahi Dan-Fodio, Muhammad Bello and Gidado Dan Laima. In *Tazyin al-Waraqat* (dated 1813 C.E. 1228 A.H.) Shaykh Abdullahi Dan Fodio translated one of the Shaykh's poems (dated 1797) from Fulfulde to Arabic that illustrated the Sufi background of the Shaykh:

> "The blessings of Ahmad in the country of Allah have become general and abundant by the presence of Abd al-Qadir. Our Faith, together with our *sunna* is in obedience; Increase me in it through the Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir, And make unbelief together with innovation, and disobedience far from me by the greatness of 'Abdul-Qadir"[12].

The state of the Shaykh was also described by Shaykh Muhammad Bello in *lnfaq Al-Maisur* dated 5 Dhil-qa'da 1227 (10 Nov. 1812)

> "He informed me that when Divine attraction came to him by the blessing of the *Salat* on the prophet (May Allah bless him and grant him peace), which he used to persevere on, without tiredness or boredom, Allah strengthened him with an overflowing of lights through the Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jilli and his (Shaykh Abd al-Qadir's) grandfather, the messenger of Allah, (May Allah bless him and grant him peace). By this, he witnessed the wonders of the hidden kingdom and reached the rare of the kingdom of power (source world). He witnessed the manifestation of the names, attributes and the Essence. He had a vision of the protected slate. He separated his symbolic observation and the Almighty, the Real, clothed him with a robe of calling to Him and He crowned him with a crown of showing and guiding to Him. And then a caller from the supreme Presence called: "O people answer the caller to Allah" several times and he said: "Through which are deluded (away from the truth) such as would be deluded". Then the almighty the Real returned him to the state of wakefulness so that he was made Firm in calling and guiding to Him"[13]

Raud al-Jinan of Wazir Gidado Dan Laima written 1254 A.H. (1838) after the death of the Muhammad Bello is a clear indication of the sufi traits of the Jama'a particularly the role of Muhammad Kwairanga as an intermediary between the Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio and Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. Shaykh Uthman was not an extremist in either Fiqh or Sufism. The miracles attributed to him have been described as modest and his charisma was not based on the claim of supernatural or superhuman powers.[14] This may have led Shaykh Mahmud Abubakar Gumi and his followers to suggest that Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio abandoned Sufism at the end of his life.

There is no convincing historical evidence to substantiate this proposition.[15]

He became popular, and people from different parts of the Sudan came to him seeking for guidance in his hometown of Degel. He guided people in major sciences of Islam such as *fiqh* and *tasawuf.* The Shaykh established a functional Muslim community. A community of believers transformed by the life pattern of the best of mankind the Prophet of Allah (May the Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him).

The Sultan of Gobir, Bawa, invited the Shaykh and other scholars to Magami for *Id al-adha* prayers in 1202 A.H. (1788). After the prayers, the Sultan gave the scholars gifts which they accepted, except the Shaykh who demanded that he should be allowed the following: to call people to Allah without hindrance, nobody should be stopped from following him, anybody wearing turban should be treated with respect, all prisoners should be released and that citizens of Gobir should not be overburdened with tax. The Sultan agreed but realized the implication and said "O people of Gobir have you seen this Fulani man? There will be no sultanate after me except a local village head." The Shaykh returned to Degel "with authority" to "establish Islam" while others "returned with gifts".[16] He continued teaching, preaching and writing. He wrote poems in Ajami (vernacular) - Hausa and Fulfulde, which were understood by the common people. The most important book that was written during this period was *Ihya'aIsunna wa Ikhmad aI-bid'a* completed before 1207 A.H. (1793).[17]

Preparations for the jihad began in 1208 AH (1794 AD). The Shaykh became a magnet for attracting people from all parts of Hausaland. The power of the Sultan of Gobir and

other tyrants began to decline. The Shaykh and his community were becoming independent of the Habe tyrants. In 1211 AH (1797 AD) according to *Tazyin al-Waraqat* the Shaykh instructed members of the community to arm themselves because "to get arms ready is *Sunna*".[18]

The Sultan of Gobir, Nafata, made the following declaration against the Shaykh's community in 1216 AH (1802 AD): "No man should become a Muslim unless a Muslim born. All converts should revert to their original faith. Men should no longer wear turban, women should not veil themselves. And that nobody except Uthman alone should preach Islam".[19] This same year a section of the community under Abdussalam moved from Gobir to Gimbana in Kebbi. Yunfa Dan Nafata became the Sultan of Gobir c12116-17 AH (1803 AD). He attempted to kill the Shaykh in 1217 but failed.[20] In Dhul Qa'da, 1217 the Shaykh wrote the *Masa'iI Muhimma* in which he stated the necessity of jihad against unbelievers and Hijra from the land of Kufr.[21]

The Shaykh made the Hijra from Degel, which was vulnerable (to attack by Yunfa), on 10th Dhul al'Qa'da 1217 (21 Feb. 1804), to Gudu. Many Muslims made the Hijra and joined the Shaykh. This alarmed the Yunfa who harassed the *muhajirun* (fugitives) and confiscated their property. It was at Gudu that the Muslims made the bay'a (swore allegiance) to the Shaykh. Abdullahi Dan Fodio was the first to make the *bay'a* then Muhammad Bello. The Shaykh became the *Imam* or *Amir aI-Mu'minin* (leader or commander of the faithful) and he declared: "I have deprived every bearded person of the management of his affairs today, except in regard to the management of the affairs of his family. He is (now) in my power. I have taken away the power of everyone with power

in this country except him who comes to my side. Allah Most High willing. He who expelled me from my house will be expelled from his house"[22]

An expedition sent by the Sarkin Gobir against the Muslims was repelled. The Muslims liberated the strategic towns of Matankari and Konni. The *Badr* (first decisive battle) of the *Jama'a* was Tabkin Kwatto in Rabi'ul auwal in 1219 (June 1804). The *Mujahidun* (Jihadists) under the command of Shaykh Abdullahi were out-numbered by they became victorious. Both sides were racially mixed. The term Fulani Jihad has no historical basis. It is a legacy of colonial education. Shaykh Abdullahi described the composition of the *Mujahidun* during this encounter:

> "We are an army, victorious in Islam, and we are proud of nothing but that Tribe of Islam, and Turubi is our clan. Our Fulani and our Hausa all united And among us other than these certain Tribes bound together. For the help of Allah's deen…"

The *Jama'a* were defeated at *Tsuntsuwa* in Ramadan 1219 (December 1804). Two thousand were (1208) martyred, two hundred of them were *Hufaz* (those who have committed the Quran to memory). Notable among the martyrs were Imam Sambo, Zaid Ibn Muhammad Sa'd and Muhammad Gurdam.[23] The Jama'a, also suffered heavy casualty and defeat at the Battle of Alwasa in 1218 (Nov. 1805) some Hausa supporters also rebelled.[24]

The fall of Alkalawa on the 3rd of October 1808 was the end of the Gobir Kingdom and resistance to the jihad movement was broken. The news of the defeat of Gobir Kingdom was spread to other parts of the Bilad al-Sudan by travelers.[25] Although the Caliphate was in existence since

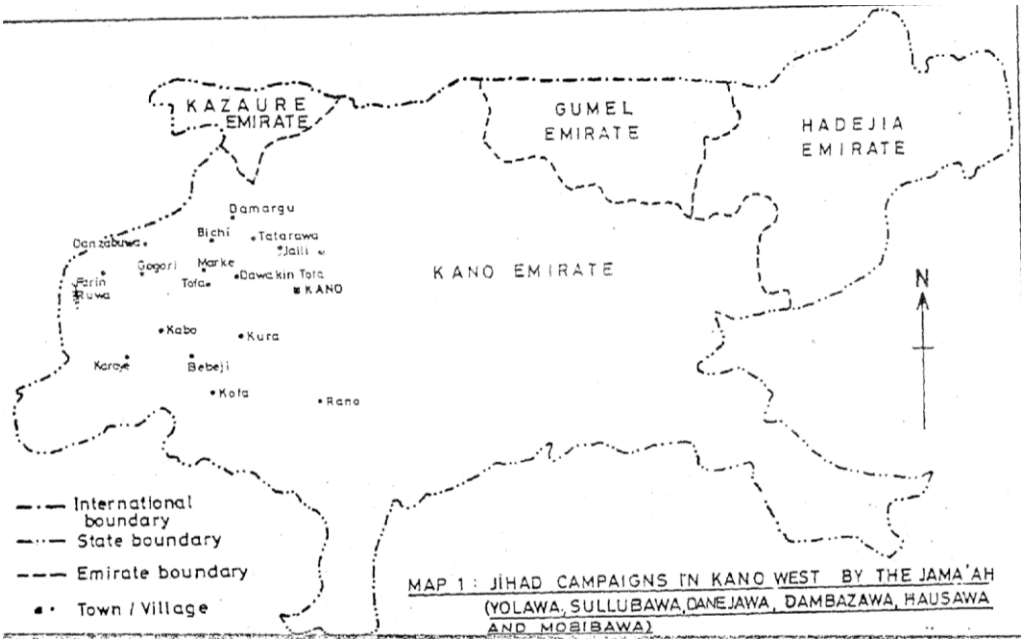
Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio received allegiance, it was not organized until after the fall of Alkalawa. The jihad campaigns in other parts of the Hausaland were also in progress. Kano was liberated before the fall of Alkalawa and it had its Amir.

The Jihad in Kano

The people of Hausaland came to know about the Shaykh through three different ways. The first was through his writings in Arabic and his poems in Hausa and Fulfulde. The second was through itinerant preachers. While the third way was through *karama* (miracle), in which a person is called in a dream to answer the call to jihad. Among those who were called through this method was the poet and preacher, Dikkoye.[26] And when he visited the Shaykh he was shown his caller, Muhammad Kwairanga, the famous saint of Degel. Dikkoye's brothers Dattiwa[27] and Abdullahi al-Kanawi[28] (author of *Dawa'ir*[29]) were the only two Kano scholars documented among the "süfi, novices (murids) whom the Sheikh brought up (in the tariqa) to reach the highest (spiritual) levels".[30] Some other Kano scholars also visited the Shaykh and pledged allegiance to him, but there is no evidence that they were called like Dikkoye. The first amongst them to visit the Shaykh was Abdurrahman Goshi[31] and his younger brother Jibril.[32] The next were, in chronological order, Malam Jamo[33], Malam Bakatsine[34], Malam Danzabuwa[35], Malam Dabo Dambazau,[36] Mallam Danzabuwa[37] and Mallam Uthman Bahaushe[38]. The Shaykh wrote his message or manifesto *Wathiqat ahl-Sudan*[39] which was distributed all over Hausaland.[40] The message to Kano *jama'a* was brought by Ladan Goja who handed it over to their Malam Danzabuwa. Those who visited the Shaykh and pledged allegiance to him

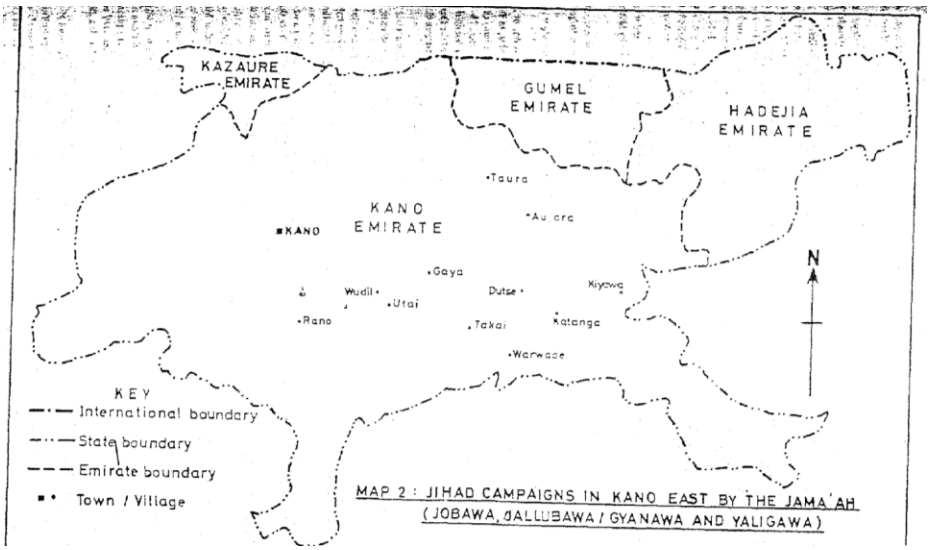
were present when the message was received. They decided that they should make Hijra to Fagoje (Kwazazzabon Yarkwando) on the 16th Jumada al-Awwal 1219 AH (mid August 1804).

The Jihad in Kano was coordinated contrary to suggestions by some historians.[41] The Sullubawa,[42] Yolawa,[43] Danejawa,[44] Dambazawa[45] and Modibawa[46] carried out the Jihad battles in the Western parts of Kano where their settlements were located (map 1) while the Jobawa,[47] Jallubawa (Gyanawa)[48] and Yeligawa[49] carried out the Jihad in Eastern Kano under the leadership of Malam Bakatsine (map 2). This was planned after the receipt of Shaykh Dan Fodio's letter.[50]



Map 1

Source: Kurawa, Ibrahim-Ado, Jihad in Kano. Kano: Kurawa Holdings, 1989



Map 2
Source: Kurawa, Ibrahim-Ado, Jihad in Kano. Kano: Kurawa Holdings, 1989

The first battle of the Jihad in *Kasar Kano* was fought at a settlement around Bebeji, which was under the jurisdiction of its Chief, near the predominantly Sullubawa area of Kiru. It was Dandayya who might have been a member of the Yolawa clan, who shot the first arrow of the Jihad that killed Bimma. Sarkin Kano Alwali Kutumbi, was informed of this encounter and the coincident death of the Chief of Bebeji.

As a result he appointed Gyanako, the son of the late Chief, to succeed his father on the condition that he must fight the *Jama'a* vigorously.

The western *Jama'a* engaged Alwali's forces under the leadership of Gyanako. Both sides suffered heavy casualties and even though Alwali's forces were more successful, his advisers blamed the lack of complete victory on the composition of his army and they suggested that well trained

and experienced soldiers from the city should be dispatched to confront the Jama'a. Alwali accepted this advice and he appointed Barde Bakure to command the newly formed battalion but they were also defeated by the Jama'a who were becoming confident.[51]

The Jama'a's success frightened Sarkin Kano Alwali Kutumbi. He summoned his councilors and scholars. They advised him that he should send envoys to negotiate with the Jama'a and if there was no agreement, he should form a very large army composed of all able-bodied men of his Kingdom. Alwali accepted this advice. He appointed Malam Dan Dhul-ni'ma, Zayan al-Arabi, Jakadan Kardewa and Malam Hayu to negotiate a truce with the Jama'a. A meeting was held with the leaders of the Jama'a who gave a condition that before they accept Alwali as one of them he must make the Hijra[52] as instructed by Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio and that after the establishment of Islamic Government in Kano Kingdom they shall return him to his palace and reappoint him as the legitimate Sarki under the authority of Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio.[53]

Sarki Alwali Kutumbi was about to accept these conditions just like Sarkin Zazzau Jatau, but he was discouraged by his councilors, the most outspoken of whom was Imam Abdulkadir. Sarki Alwali decreed that all able-bodied men in his Kingdom, including minorities such as Kanuris and Tuaregs, should be drafted into the Army, which shall be commanded by Sarkin Dawaki Ali. He instructed them to kill all males, including babies, and enslave all females; but the leaders of the *Jama'a* should be chained and brought to him. This army was very large and it had sufficient arms and ammunitions which were carried by camels. The

Jama'a were terrified at this development, more especially as people stopped joining their camp. Both forces met at a decisive battle known as *Yakin Daukar Girma (The Battle for Victory)* and the *Jama'a* were victorious.[54] This boosted the morale of the Jama'a.

Several other battles were later fought and the Jama'a were successful in most of them. The leader[55] of the Jama'a, Malam Danzabuwa was martyred in an encounter with Alwali's men before the liberation of Jali and Madachi.[56] The most notable were the battles of Kabo, Masnawa, Godiya, Kofa, Kura and Karaye. Turmi, who was the Chief of Kofa, joined the Jama'a and was appointed the Chief of the strategic town of Bebeji. Only a few of the local Fulani joined the Jama'a among whom was Ardo Sabti, who was later martyred just before the battle of Karaye. Barde Bakure, one of Alwali's bravest commanders was killed at that battle.[57]

There was misunderstanding amongst the chiefs of the Jama'a at Gora before the decisive battle of Danyaya. Malam Jamo, the Chief of the Sullubawa, suggested that they should move eastwards and join Malam Bakatsine who had not yet liberated Gaya. But Malam Abdurrahman, the Chief of the Yolawa, observed that if they concentrated all their strength in one area, Alwali would defeat them with the help of Katsina and Damagaram. They later reached a consensus that they should remain in the west.

Alwali was aided by the Sarkin Daura. This development frightened the Jama'a. Some of them suggested that they should move eastward and join Malam Bakatsine whose command had just liberated the important town of Gaya. Malam Jibril who was one of their most learned and upright scholars advised them to remain and fight the decisive

battle. At Danyaya the Jama'a defeated Alwali's forces under his personal command. He was unable to leave the town until after the intervention of the Jama'a leaders who ordered that he should be allowed to leave since he had experienced one of the great signs of Allah".[58] Alwali returned to Kano and he was deserted by most of his councillors.[59]

The Jama'a's success at Danyaya gave them more confidence and they moved into *Kasar Katsina* and *Kasar Daura* where they helped Umar Dallaji[60] and Malam lshaq[61] respectively in their Jihad campaigns. They were forced to return to Kano because of severe hunger. They arrived at Tomas, their last camp before their triumphant entry into Kano. They chose Tomas as a base because of the availability of water. The Jama'a decided that they should restrict Alwali to Kano City. Therefore they sent an expedition under the command of Malam Jibril which raided Fage town on the outskirts of the City.[62]

At this point Alwali was a defeated King. The Jama'a of both east and west have completed their assignment and have camped at Tomas waiting for their final entry into Kano. He sent a delegation made up of Malam Kabara, Malam Gabto, Dan Gwauronduma Sumailu, Malam Jabbo al-Falati and Malam Goja to plead with the Jama'a. He pleaded that he was ready to accept all the conditions of the Jama'a and that he was ready to reach them even if it was on "foot". The Jama'a rejected this plea, because according to them he was given that choice earlier but he refused and decided to fight them vigorously by forming a very large army which they eventually defeated.[63] They informed his ambassadors that they shall take over Kano on the 12th of Rabi'ul Awwal.[64]

Alwali left Kano city for Zaria the same night. He lived there for a year and returned to Rano where he was killed at Burumburum in an encounter with the Jamaa led by Malam Bakatsine. By this time Sulaiman Dan Aba Hama was the (first) Emir of Kano.[65]

Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and Kano Emirate

The Jama'a of Kano who accepted Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio as their Amir al-Mumin after pledging allegiance to him relinquished their right of choosing their leader. But Shaykh Dan Fodio who was a believer in consensus gave them the choice at Birnin Gada where his son Shaykh Muhammad Bello represented him. And they chose Sulaiman Dan Aba Hama. This tradition of choosing the Sarkin (Amir of) Kano through the *Shura* (consensus) was continued for ninety years until Sultan Abdulrahrnan rejected the consensual candidate Yusuf and appointed Tukur.[66] The people of Kano revolted and this resulted in a civil war. It has been reported that Malam Jamo leader of the Sullubawa who was part of the Kano delegation to Birnin Gada was given the flag to lead the Kano Jama'a because he was their first leader before the appointment of Sulaiman. The descendants of Jamo subsequently became known as Sullubawan *Tuta* (flag) because of this flag.[67] This claim contradicts the report of *Taqyid al*-Akbar[68] where it is stated that Malam Dangabuwa was the leader of the Kano Jama'a until his death[69] during one of the Jihad campaigns before the liberation of Kano. Descendants of other Jihad leaders also claim that their ancestors were the leaders of the Jihad in Kano.[70]

The most important political consequence of the *Jihad* in Kano was the transformation of Kano from an independent

Kingdom to a territory under the Amir al-Muminin based in Sokoto. Sarkin Kano who was officially addressed as *Sultan* (King) of Kano became Amir (Governor of) Kano. Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio condemned the use of Habe titles for officials in his k*itab aI*-Farq[71] and he advised that the title of Amir should be used for provincial governors.

The Emirate type of Government established by Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio and his students had four characteristics.[72] They were determination of division in the society between Muslims and non-Muslims and not between tribes and geographical entities. The Muslim territories were *Dar al-Islam* (Abode of Islam)and the non-Muslim territories were *Dar al-Harb* (Abode of War). There was the rule of *Shari'ah* (Islamic Law) administered by *Qadis* (Judges). Thirdly the Jihad leaders emphasised knowledge and piety as the basis for political appointment and this was adhered to at least at the beginning. Lastly the legitimacy of the government was derived from "intellectual acceptance based on education rather than the display of wealth and power".[73] Even towards the end of the Caliphate the modesty of Islam was manifest amongst the leaders of the society. Paul Staudinger made that observation when he visited Hausaland. He reported that:

> "So, according to the standards of the country, the income of the *Commander of the Faithful* may be quite considerable but despite this fact he lives comparatively simply. The puritanism of his forebears is still alive in him; he is accessible, affable and not proud, even the poorest man is granted audience. He uses the bulk of his income in gifts to rich and poor, in rewards to officials, as well as in the exercise of his generous hospitality".[74]

It has been suggested that the Jihad in Kano strengthened the *sarauta.* This was because the constitutional doctrines of the Jihad leaders "were based squarely on the theoretical doctrines of the late Abbasid jurists and their actors".[75] It has even been alleged that the Abbasid rulers were more tyrannical than the Habe rulers of Hausaland. This criticism was based on the political writings of Shaykh Uthrnan Dan Fodio in *Kitab aI-Farq* and Abdullahi Dan Fodio in *Diya al-Hukam.* It was also suggested that the Abbasid and Sokoto political and administrative structures were complex with innovations which were not in existence at Madina during the time of the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) and the early Umma of Madina. Shaykh Uthman Dan-Fodio did not envisage an elaborate government in *Kitab aI-Farq* because he suggested only four ministers. They are the trustworthy Wazir, a Qadi (Judge) whom the "blame of a blamer cannot overtake concerning the affairs of God". The third minister "is the Chief of Police who shall obtain justice for the weak from the strong", and the fourth minister is a Tax Collector "who shall discharge his duties and not oppress the subjects".[76] It is very clear from the above that the government was never intended to be elaborate as claimed by the critic.

The suggestion that the pattern of Imamate or government derived by the *Jihad* leaders is not clearly that of the early *Ummah* of Madina"[77] is also frivolous. This is because the four offices suggested by Shaykh Uthman Dan-Fodio were also found in the early *Ummah* of Madina. In some cases during the *Khilafah Rashidah* (rightly guided Caliphate) the government was more elaborate than the one envisaged in *Kitab al-Farq.* The four ministers envisaged in this book were all established before the end of the *Khilafali* Rashidah.[78] For

example, the office of Waziri was not an Abbasid innovation. They might have given the name but the function has been in existence during the *Khilafah Rashidah.* The function of the Waziri was that of Chief Adviser and during the *Khilafah* of Abubakar his Chief Adviser was Umar. Khalifa Abubakar appointed Ali b. Abi Talib a Judge. He also established a department for jurists[79] who were the only ones allowed to give legal verdict. Abdullahi bn Masud was appointed sentinel, who took care of crimes. The office of tax collector cannot be in doubt because the Quran authorized the collection of Zakat which is a form of taxation. The Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) first established the *Bait al-Mal* (public treasury). Khalifa Umar reorganized the public treasury by appointing the *Sahib bait al-mal* (public treasury officer) to take care of the six forms of revenue of the time.[80] Khalifa Umar also introduced the *Sahib aI-Ahdath* (The Police Officer).

Another criticism was that Kanuris, Arabs and Wangarawa occupied important positions based on merit in Hausa states before the *jihad,* while after it a handful of families occupied the positions based on hereditary succession and not merit. As far as Kano was concerned, the *Kano Chronicle* has recorded a number of state officials before and after the jihad.[81] The positions occupied by the Wangarawa and the Arabs[82] were only of religious or bureaucratic importance and not politically important. The Wangarawa occupied the position of *Imam* (leader of congregational prayer), *Muazin* (caller to the prayer), *Qadi* (judge) and another official who slaughtered the animals. There was only one Kanuri who was politically influential in the history of Kano. He was called Dagachi[83] and he was stripped of his influence

after some time. The politically influential members of the *Tara ta Kano* (Council of State) during the Habe era were either slaves or members of the royal family. The most influential official in the Habe era was the Galadima who was always closely related to the royal family. Loyal slaves always occupied the offices of Wambai and Sarkin Bai. The relative of the Sarki occupied the office of Dan Iya; likewise his relative always occupied the office of Ciroma. The last Ciroma of the Habe era was Dan Mama a nephew of the last Habe King. It was only one Dan Lawal who was appointed because of his piety.[84] It could be authoritatively concluded that the Kanuris, Arabs, Wangarawa and any other commoners were never continuously politically influential throughout the Habe era. On the other hand, the Kutumbawa and their slaves monopolized political power. Religious men and bureaucrats helped them at different times.

The Waziri, who was sometimes the Galadima or Tafida or Sarkin Fada, was the most important political officer during the emirate period. It was never exclusively restricted to any group of families. It is a historical fact that the most Islamic period of the emirate was the nine-year reign of Sarkin Kano Sulaiman. His two Waziris were his brothers. When Dabo became the Sarki, he retained them and after their deaths he appointed his friend Sulaiman Ango[85] who was later deposed[86] by Dabo's son and successor. Ango's children and descendants never held any politically important position. Dabo's successor, Usman, appointed his brother Abdullahi as his Galadima and Waziri. The first Waziri appointed by Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Maje Karofi was his son Muhammadu[87] who was also the Tafida; his brother, Yusuf, who was also the Galadima, succeeded him. Yusuf was deposed and his life was

barely saved. Abdullahi's scribe, Ibrahim Bazazzagi (from Zaria), succeeded him. Bello, Abdullahi's successor deposed him and appointed his friend Nagyatum Sarkin Fada[88] and Waziri while his son Tukur was appointed Galadima. Ahmadu was the Wazirin Kano during the reign of his younger brother Sarkin Kano Alu. The above examples from Sarkin Kano Dabo to his grandson, Alu, a period of less than ninety years have produced seven Waziris, three from the ruling Sullubawan Dabo family and four from politically insignificant families. This is strong evidence that anybody could have been given the second highest political office in the Emirate. During the Habe era nothing of such has been reported. Several other brave individuals held the position of military commanders, thus there were many unrelated *Sarakuna* of Gaya, where military skill was the criteria for appointment.[89] This was because it was the most important fortress against Ningi. There are no reasons to believe that political appointments after the *jihad* were mediocre and *pre-jihad* appointments were based on merit.

The suggestion that "finally the advice of Shehu Abdullahi dan Fodio to the masses to obey even the tyrannical rulers inadvertently (on the part of the learned Shehu Abdullahi) served as a tool for suppression in the hands of the rulers and at the same time as a dose of tranquilizer to the masses, hence strengthening the *sarauta* system".[90] This could have been quoted out of context. Shaykh Abdullahi might be calling on people to obey rulers who enjoin good actions such as jihad. Certainly Shaykh Abdullahi was not the originator of such a call and it is a fact that there is no obedience to any authority that enjoins disobedience to Allah. Moreover Shaykh Abdullahi has called for jihad against those "who take

illegal taxes and who are oppressive and corrupt and who do not effect corrections. The sultan should end their oppression against the Muslims and appoint just leaders, even if it leads to war and killing of many of the unjust rulers and supporters".[91]

Finally substantive evidence against the suggestion was the response to the laxity of Sultan Aliyu (1840 - 52) by the Ulama of Sokoto. They announced publicly that they had withdrawn their allegiance to the Caliph because he had abandoned Jihad, the repairs of mosques and the distribution of revenue as instructed by the Sharia. Sultan Aliyu responded swiftly to the challenge by positively changing his attitude.[92]

A paper written before the above criticisms made some observations that contradict them which were not reported by the critic. The paper concluded that from *Kitab al-Farq* and "Muhammad Bello's letter to Amir Yakubu of Bauchi, as well as their other political tracts, there is no doubt that the leaders of the Sokoto *jihad* were committed to establishing an Islamic government to cater for the wellbeing of the Muslims".[93] The paper further added that "the pre- *jihad* governments of the Hausa states were elaborate, authoritarian and therefore powerful. The *Sarakuna* were surrounded with pomp and pageantry designed to instill fear in order to invoke the respect of the *talakawa.* The early Emirate governments on the other hand were simple and they sought to win the respect and support of the people through religion; through the fear of God and not by apparent show of power. In Kano, for example, the early Emirs refused to enter the Gidan Rumfa".[94] The difference between the Emirate government and its Habe predecessor was the Islamic emphasis of the latter. Islam was the body of unity and "the religious pre-eminence of the

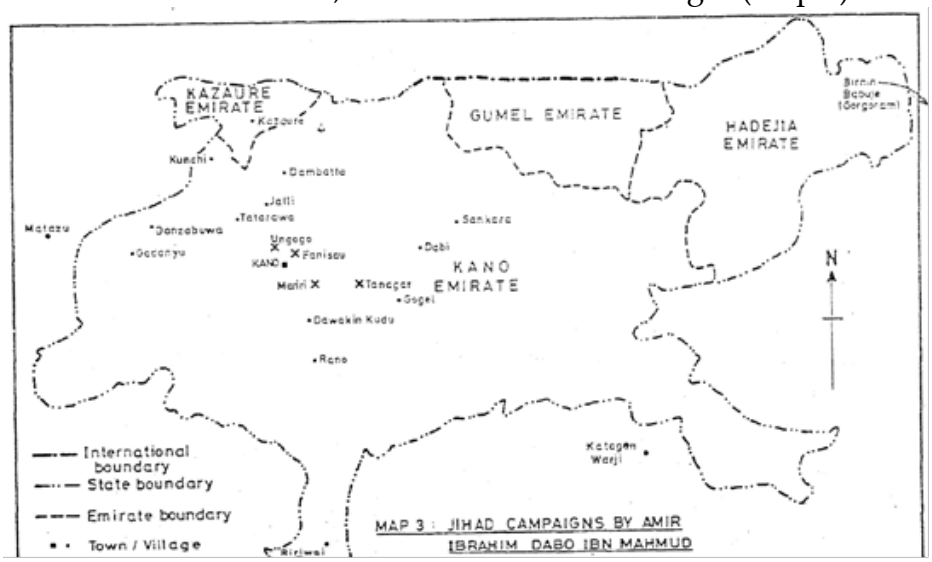
Sokoto Caliphate was never questioned or seriously challenged".[95] Even the rebellious leader, Alu, who became Sarkin Kano at the end of the Emirate period, had to seek Sokoto's blessing through reconciliation.

It should be noted that Shaykh Uthrnan Dan-Fodio "was not concerned about the physical aspects of the *jihad"*. His personality was dominant and he "was above any clan by virtue of his piety and education". The *Jihad* arose not because he and his followers wanted power but because they were unable "to make the Hausa rulers to reform the system of their governments in order to make them more Islamic and less pagan".[96] Sarkin Zazzau Makau, accepted the call to reform and the *Jihad* leaders allowed him to continue as Sarkin Zazzau.[97] Sarkin Kano Alwali was also given that choice and he refused to respond.[98] The elimination of paganism and syncretism from the body politics of Kano and Hausa states was a fundamental achievement which should not be obscured by physical benefits derived by the families of the *Jihad* leaders.[99]

The Establishment of Ribats and Jihad against Rebels and Hostile States

A *ribat* was a walled settlement of soldiers whose duty was to protect *Dar al Islam* (abode of Islam) against attack of unbelievers from *Dar al-Harb* (abode of war). Shaykh Abdullahi Dan Fodio stressed the importance of *ribats* in his *Diya alHukam* and Amir al-Muminin Shaykh Muhammad Bello established *ribats* during his caliphate.[100] Sarkin Kano Sulaiman was the first Sarki to establish *ribats* at the borders immediately after the defeat of Tumbi's army.[101]

The second Emir of Kano, Ibrahim Dabo was confronted with the problems of rebels soon after he assumed office. The most serious uprising was that of Dantunku, who refused to pledge allegiance to the new Emir. Dantunku was regarded as a rebel by Muhammad bn Salih, the official historian of the Jihad in Kano, but Murray Last, the historian of the Sokoto Caliphate, described the treatment meted on Dantunku as less than fair.[102] Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo established *ribats* at Panisau, Ungogo and Dawakin Tofa to contain Dantunku's incursions.[103] He also built *ribats* near the capital so that, residents of the city could procure firewood[104] and also use the available arable land for farming.[105] These were the *ribats* of Mann, Dan Madanfo and Tanagar (map 3).



Map 3
Source: Kurawa, Ibrahim-Ado, Jihad in Kano. Kano: Kurawa Holdings, 1989

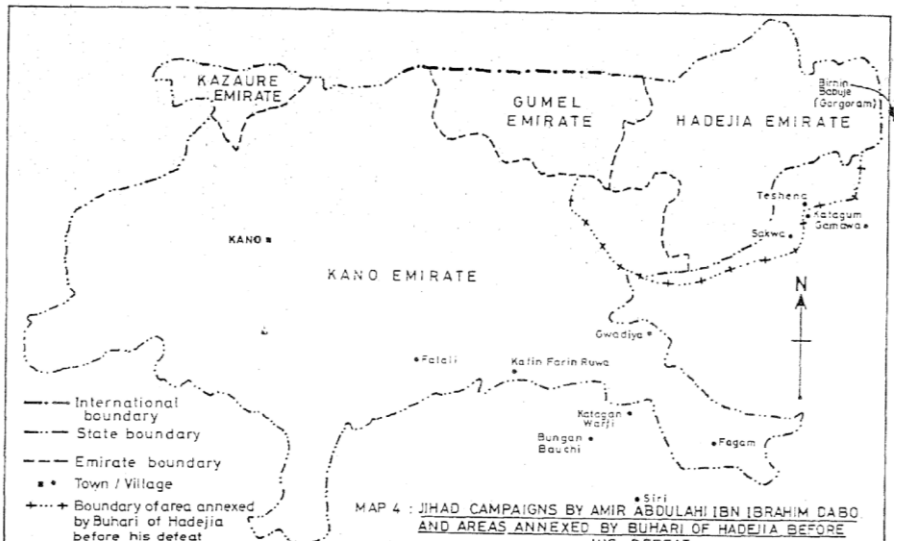
Ibrahim Dabo defeated Dantunku who was later given the territory from Kazaure up to River Korama by Sultan Muhammadu Bello as a compromise. Sarkin Kano Dabo also stationed the Yarimawa at Dambatta to serve as buffer against Dantunku.

Some scholars have extensively reviewed Kano's relation with Borno.[106] Therefore this write up will not repeat what has already been written. The Kano Chronicle has reported that Kano paid tribute to Borno, this could be interpreted as military weakness. But it has argued that Borno's domination of Hausa states including Kano was through economic and Islamic influence because Kano was militarily stronger than Borno when it stated paying the tribute. Borno gained economic and Islamic influence because of its geographical proximity to Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula which, were the centers of the Islamic world. Borno's economic and Islamic hegemony began to dwindle with the progress of the western transaharan trade. The Jihad of Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio finally obliterated Borno's Islamic pretentions.[107] Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi tried to regain Borno's influence over Kano at beginning of the reign of Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo when the later was faced with revolts and dissents. Al-Kanemi and his soldiers attacked Kano and they came as far as the city gate where they enslaved freeborn Muslims who came out of the city for firewood and other things.

The *fitna* of Malam Hamza of Tsakuwa began in 1849. Hamza employed un-Islamic practices such as magic to gain the support of ignorant people and he had large group of followers made up of students and mischievous scholars. Hamza and his followers refused to pay *Kharaj* (land tax).[108] As

a result of this Amir Usman ordered them to leave Kano territory. They migrated to Duwa were they were well received by Dan Daura, the Chief of the area. Later Hamza gained the support of the Butawa pagans and ousted Dan Daura and he became the overall Chief of the pagans. His followers raided the neighboring provinces of the Sokoto Caliphate with impunity.[109] Amir Usman had to establish a *ribat* at Ruma and he appointed Guru as its custodian.[110]

Bukhari of Hadeija[111] also threatened Kano during the reign of Sarkin Kano Uthman Maje Ringim but his attacks were restricted to border towns and villages. The most powerful Emir of Kano was Abdullahi Maje Karofi who has been described as *"Abdu Sarkin Yanka"* because he was strong-minded and committed to the military supremacy of Kano was able to contain Bukhari by establishing more *ribats (map 4).*



Map 4
Source: Kurawa, Ibrahim-Ado, Jihad in Kano. Kano: Kurawa Holdings, 1989

There was no face to face confrontation between the two of them. Bukhari was only able to attack Kano when Abdullahi Maje Karofi travelled to Sokoto.[112] The Sokoto Caliphate was relieved of Bukhari's *fitna* when he was fatally defeated at Birnin Babuje and his subsequent death because of wounds.[113]

The invasion of Kano by the *Ningawa* during the reign of Abdullahi was very frequent. Sarkin Bauchi who was also threatened by the Ningawa had to establish *a ribat* against them although he later withdrew his soldiers because their attitude towards jihad had changed. The Ningawa and their pagan allies raided neighboring provinces of the Sokoto Caliphate as result of the relaxation of the Bauchi *ribatists.* They terrorized and enslaved many Muslims. They threatened Kano throughout the emirate this made Sarkin Abdullahi Maje Karofi to establish a *ribat* at Fa1ali.[114] He also repaired all the other *ribats*. His son, Chiroma Yusuf,[115] was stationed at the newly built *ribat* of Takai which was built to defend Kano against the Ningawa. Gwarzo, Karaye and Rano served as *ribats* during the emirate period.[116] Maradi under Danbaskore[117] attacked Kano and it was Gwarzo that repelled him. Although Kano lost the battle and Sarkin Dawaki Danladan[118] was martyred but the capital city and other areas were safely defended because of the Gwarzo ribatists. Rano also provided defense against the Ningawa, Sarkin Rano Aliyu was killed by them in an encounter.[119]

The Kano army under Abdullahi Maje Karofi camped at Falali for three years 1856-1859 (1273-1275 AH). This great *ribat* restrained the Dan Maje who was one of the leaders of the pagans. Wazirin Kano Muhammad Dan Sarkin Kano Abdullahi once defeated Dan Maje at Tufai. Sarkin Rano Aliyu

a powerful *Babban Dagaci* (semi-autonomous territorial chief) had earlier defeated Dan Maje at Tungugu near Bunkure in 1855/ 1272 AH before the Sarki's encampment at Falali. Later in 1858/ 1274 AH Dan Maje retaliated by invading Kano through Rano while Sarkin Kano was at Falali. Sarkin Rano Aliyu was killed in that encounter.

Sarkin Kano Abdullahi was at Falali *ribat* in 1860 (1277 AH) when he was forced to abandon it because of a letter from the Sarkin Musulmi instructing him to participate in the Harifa campaigns. He appointed his son Ciroma Yusuf, to defend Kano against the Dan Maje. Yusuf was then the chief custodian of the *ribats*. The Ningawa first destroyed Sumaila and then later defeated Yusuf at Takai which made him to retreat to Sarina. His colleague, Jakadan Garko, beat a retreat to Fajewa. Seven years later in 1667/ 1284 AH the Ningawa invaded Sumaila again. This invasion made the inhabitants of Dando, Gani and Matagwai to migrate. Maradi under Danbaskore (1858-1859/ 1275-1295 AH) was also a great threat to Kano during the Emirship of Abdullahi Maje Karofi. The Maradi army raided Kano successfully in the 1870's. Kano was once defeated near Gwarzo and its Commander Sarkin Dawaki Maituta Danladan was killed. The Damagarawa under Tanimu Sulaiman (1851-1884/1268-1271 AH), also raided Kano, attacked Jirima and destroyed Garun Ali.

The politically naive Amir Muhammadu Bello was militarily successful in curtailing the invasions of the Ningawa and their pagan allies. He rebuilt the fortress town of Tudun Wada which they destroyed in the 1870's. He also defeated Dan Yaya of Ningi in a place between Tsangaya and Kachako. Sarkin Gaya Abubakar, one of Amir Bello's able military

commanders, defeated Gajigi, son of the notorious Dan Maji and Kano gained a lot of booty.[120]

Kano survived military threats of 19th century CE because of its human and material resources. Kano was the most prosperous province of the Sokoto Caliphate. It overtook its pre-caliphate rival, Katsina, which was continuously harassed by rival kingdoms in Maradi throughout the period. The slave market in Kano also boomed because of captives from Jihad wars against pagans. The slaves helped Kano politically and militarily by assisting the rulers in the administration of Kano during the period under review.[121]

Notes and References

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2. Al-Murabil, Abdal Qadir, 1984, *The Sign of the Sword* Norwich, p.55 where he quoted Qawanin of Ibn Juzayy
3. Ibid.
4. Some scholars have described the Sokoto caliphate as a confederation while others such as Yusuf Abba, referred to it as a federation, see Abba, Yusuf 1979, "The Jihad in Hausaland as a Revolution" in Usman Y.B. (ed.) *Studies in the History of Sokoto Caliphate: The Sokoto Seminar Papers.*
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11. Al-Hajj, M. A. 1979 The Meaning of Sokoto Jihad in Usman, Y. B. (ed) *Studies in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate: Sokoto Seminar papers* cf Bello, Muhammad *Infaq al-Maisur*
12. Balogun, I.A. B. 198 1:37 cf Abdullahi b. Fudi *Tazyin al-Waraqal pp.* 105-107
13. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989 The Jihad in Kano *p.* cf. Bello, Muhammad In*faq al-Maisur*
14. Al-Hajj, M.A., 1979:9
15. Gumi, Sheikh Abubakar with Tsiga, 1. A., 1992, *Where I stand,* p.36

16. Al-Hajj,M.A. 1979 "The Meaning of the Sokoto Jihad" in Usman YB. (ed.), P13 cf Abdullahi dan Fodio *Tarzin al-waraqat*, p.27
17. Balogun, I A.B., 1981:49
18. Balogun, I.A.B., 1981:36 where he cited Abdullahi b. Fudi *Tazyin al-Waraqat*
19. Bello, Muhammadu, 1957 *Infaq al—Maysur,* Whitting, C,). (ed.) London p.67
20. Yunfa's proclamation was a call for the abandonment of Islam, his country thus became a *Dar al—Harb* and the law is clear that Muslims should not leave in *Dar al-Harb* unless they have no choice. See Balogun I.A.B., 1981:38 where he cited Abdullahi b. Fudi *Tazyin al-Waraqat*
21. He also stated the fundamentals of submission, which, formed the philosophy of the Jihad. See Al-Hajj 1979: 16
22. Sulaiman, Ibraheem, 1986:12 I where he cited Malumfashi U.F. 1973. "The Life and Ideas of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio, Being editing, translating and analysis of: I. *Rawd al—inan* by Gidado b. laima, 2. *Al-Kashf wa L 'Bavan an Ahwal Muhammadu Bello* by Gidado b. Laima, pp.26 - 27
23. Last, Murray, 1977:18 cf. Bello, Muhammad *Infaq al-Maysur* and Balogun lAB. 1981
24. Ibid.
25. Last, Murray, 1977:39 cf Bello, Muhammad *Infaq al-Maysur*
26. He studied under the guidance of Shaykh Dan Fodio after he has been called by the latter. His two famous poems are *Alamar Bayyanar Mahdi* (ABM) and *Tsoratarwa kan Mutuwa*. Abdulkadir Dangambo has analyzed ABM (see Dangambo, A. 1980: Hausa Wa'azi verse from C.A. 1800 to CA 1970, A Critical Study of Form, Content and Style, Ph.D. Thesis SOAS London, Vol.2, pp.2 -4). *Wakar Zama* also written by Dikkoye has been analyzed by Said, Garba 1979 "Significance of the Shehu's sermons and poems in Ajami" in Y. B. Usman (ed), p.210. Dikkoye returned to his native village of Tsangaya (now in Albasu) after the death of Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio. Malam Garba Sa'id has informed me that Dikkoye was among those who supported Muhammad Bello's succession. His grave is at Tsangaya, many people regard Dikkoye as a saint.

27. Leader of the Jullubawa (Gyanawa) during the Jihad campaign, he later became Alkalin Kano.
28. See Bayero Vol. 1 or 3.
29. The book describes the Sheikh's preaching at Sifawa". It was written in 1229/18 14 see Last, M. 1977, The Sokoto Caliphate, London p.xxx
30. The life and ideas of Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodio being editing, translation and analysis: 1. Rawd al-Jinan Gidado b. Lain3a. 2. Al-Kashf wal -Bayan An Aitwal of Muhammadu BelIo by Gidado b. Laima, M. A. Thesis ABC/ABU 1973, pp.45 -46
31. He was the leader of the *Yolawa/Ba 'awa* Fulani clan 33 during the Jihad campaigns in Kano. He was the first 1113am of the Yolawa Mosque.
32. He strongly opposed entering of the houses vacated by the Habe rulers. His reason was that "if we enter the Habe's houses and beget children they will be like these Habe and do like them". He was a highly respected and famous saint. See Palmer, 1928 and Ado-Kurawa 1989
33. He was one of the learned scholars of the 96 century Hausaland, he was also an elder brother of Amir Ibrahim Dabo. His descendants held the title of Sarkin Dawaki Maituta. See Malumfashi, 1972 and Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1990 *Sullubawan Dabo.*
34. He was a very learned and reputable scholar. He left his native village of Utei to search for knowledge in various centers of learning. 'The famous Shaykh Jibril bn Umar was one of his teachers; his other teachers were Mallam Maifarar Kasa and Malam Abdullahi of Madabo. Malam Bakatsine established his school at Utai where he preached and taught many students.
35. He studied at various places such as Kurkujam and perhaps 'Yandoto in Sokoto before becoming a reputable scholar. He was once appointed by the Kano *Jama'a* to teach Sarkin *Zazzau*, Islamic sciences.
36. He migrated from Dambam, a town near Misau in the present Bauchi State. His teachers were among others: Shaykh Alu, Shaykh Yusuf, Shaykh Ibrahim, Shaykh Abd al-Rahman Chingiti and later Shaykh Abdullahi Dan Fodio, who lived in Dabo's house in Kano at the time he was writing the *Diya al-Hukum.* Malam Dabon

Dambazau was an erudite scholar comparable to very few of his contemporaries in the nineteenth century

37. He was the leader of the Kano Jama'a during the jihad campaigns. The letter[39] of Shehu Dan Fodio to the Kano *Jama'a* was delivered to him by Malam Adamu and Ladan Goja. And he chaired the first meeting of the Kano Jama'a. See Ado-Kurawa, 1989 and Said, H. I. 1978
38. He was one of the most learned scholars of the nineteenth century Hausaland. He was appointed the Alkalin Kano because among the jihad leaders, he was most knowledgeable of the customs of the people of Kano. When he died, he was not succeeded as Alkali by any of his children or relatives but by Sahihu Duttiwa, while his followers were represented the Emirate Council by Yusufai-Hausawi. Some oral sources have suggested that the Yusufal-Hausawi was not a scholar, hence he was invested with the title of *Magajin Malam* (literally successor of a scholar). This suggestion is defective since lbn Sahih in his *Taqvid al-Akhbar* has addressed him as *'Aalim.* See Malumfashi, 1972 and Said, 11.1 1978
39. Full title is *Wairiqal Min Ibn Fudi amir al—mu' minin ' uumad lid jami ahi al—Sudan wa-ila man sha Allah min al—Ikwan fi al buldan.* It has been translated in Bivar, A.D.H. 1961 "The Watriqat ahl-al-Sudan" JAH, II 2, it was a presentation to other Muslim community of the Central Western Sudan Belt. In it, the Shaykh "called for the overthrow of all established authority that proved to be hostile to Muslims" See Yahya, Dahiru "The Caliphate" *Ad-Minbar,* p. 38
40. Last, Murray 1977:16
41. *Taqyid al-akhbar* has shown that the Jama'a planned the Jihad to be carried in different fronts but two main flanks west and east arid both sections merged at Tomas after liberating their areas, and they triumphantly entered Kano. See Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989
42. One of the largest Fulfulde speaking clans in the Sokoto Caliphate. They belong to the Wangarawa stock and spoke *Wakore* before they became absorbed into the Fulani race which made them to adopt Fulfulde as their language. They also have Mandingo element in their ancestry, See Mohammadou Mat Idrissou, 1979 "Kalfu" or "The Fulbe Emirate of Balgami and the Toorobbe of Sokoto" in Usman Y. B. (ed.) 1979, Gowers W.F. *The Gezzata of Kano*

Province, p.10 and Fika A.M. (1978) *The Kano Civil War and the British Overrule 1882 - 1940*

43. They are also called *Ba'awa*. The clan is made up of several tribes such as Ururhe and the Wutirurhe. They and other Fulfulde speaking clans who migrated from Futa Toro were collectively called Toiobbo. See Mohammad on Mal ldrissou, 1979
44. Members of this clan first inhabited some parts of Kano South West before the reign of Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Rumfa and Sarkin Kano Kutumbi was the first to tax them by collecting fifty heads of cattle from them. See Palmer; 1928:119
45. They moved from Dambam near Misau into Kano territory before the Jihad. During the colonial period they became associated with the administration of Dambatta and Babura districts.
46. They are among the earliest Fulani clans to settle in Kano. They came from Borno, and the word "Modibawa" is derived from the name of their leader, Modibo. See Gowers W.F., p.10
47. They lived in Eastern Kano and their main base was Utai, a village in Wudil Local Government Area. See Gowers W.F., p. 10, Fika A.M. (1978)
48. Descendants of Mohammad Mahdy. They were later split into two; the descendants of Mohammad Gyano became the Gyanawa and descendants of Musa Dan Arnada maintained the name of Jallubawa. See Ado-Kurawa, 1989:34
49. They are a *Fulata Borno* clan and descendants of Salihu Dan Lawan. They have been alternating the title of Sarkin Dutse with the descendants of Musa Dan Arnada. See Ado-Kurawa, 1989:34
50. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989 *The Jihad in Kano* p.
51. Ado-Kurawa, 1982:26
52. Ibid.
53. Who had already received the bay'a from Muslims in Hausaland.
54. Ado-Kurawa, 1989:28
55. Said, H.I., 1978
56. Ado-Kurawa, 1989:31
57. Ibid.
58. Quran 53:18
59. Ado-Kurawa, 1989

60. A scholar and mujahid, he was appointed Amir of Katsina in 1816 by the *Amir al-Muminin* after the liberation of the territory. He continued the jihad against the Sarkin Katsina based in Maradi. He died in 1835. See Hogben, S. J. 1967 *An Introduction to the History of Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* Ibadan pp. 87-89 and 96 and Usman, Y. B. 1975 'The Transformation of Katsina' Ph. D Thesis ABU Zaria pxxiv
61. He was appointed Amir of Daura after its liberation in 1805 and he continued the jihad against the Sarakuna of Daura-Zango and Daura-Baure.
62. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989:33
63. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989:33
64. Last, D. M, 1966 "A Solution to the problems of Dynastic Chronology in I **9th** Century Zaria and Kano" *JHSN* iii, 3
65. Ibid p.
66. Ado-Kurawa, 1990, Sullubawan Dabo
67. Interview with Dr. Isa Hashim, a descendant of Malam Jamo
68. Ado-Kurawa, 1989:25
69. Ado-Kurawa, 1989:31
70. For example the Danejawa
71. Hiskett, M.
72. Abubakar, Sa'ad 1977 "The Emirate Type of Government in the Sokoto Caliphate" JHSN vii, 2:228
73. Abubakar, Sa'ad 1977:228
74. Moody, J. e. 1990, *In the Heart of Hausa States,* vol. 2, Paul Staudinger, p27
75. Mahadi, Abdullahi
76. Hiskett
77. Mahdi, Abdullahi, 1985:123
78. Khan, Majid Au. *The Pious Caliphs* contains innovations of the four rightly guided Caliphs.
79. They were Umar, Uthman, Ali, Abd al-Rahman b. Auf, Mu'adh b Jabal, Ubay h. Kab and Zaidh bn Thabit.
80. The taxes were: *jizya* (indemnity or defense tax), *zakat* (poor tax), *kharaj* (land tax), *ushr* (special land tax), *ghanima* (booty from liberated areas) and tax on non-.Muslim merchants or traders, because they do not pay *zakat*. Khan. Majid all *The Pious Caliphs* nd: 11

81. Mahdi, Abdullahi, 1985
82. If at all they had any.
83. This later became a title during the *Habe* era and during the emirate period it became the official title of a village head.
84. Palmer, H.R. 1928: 'The Kano Chronicle' p.
85. Friend of Dabo, he was a generous man with good personal qualities. See Ado-Kurawa 1989:50 and Palmer 1928:129
86. Temple, CL. 1929 "Notes on the History of Kano" 10
87. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim, 1990:29
88. Palmer, 1928
89. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989, *The Jihad in Kano,* p.94
90. Mahadi, Abdullahi, *1985,* "The Jihad and its role in strengthening the *Sarauta* (kingship) system in Hausaland in the 19th Century, The Case of Kano" in Ajayi, Ade J.F., and Ikara, Bashir (eds.) *Evolution of Political Culture in Nigeria.*
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92. Tijjani, Kyari 1979 "The Force of Religion in the Conduct of Political Affairs and interpersonal Relations in Borno and Sokoto" in Usman, Y. B. (ed.) *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate,* pp.269 - 271
93. Abubakar, Sa'ad, 1977
94. Abubakar, Sa'ad, 1977 and Jalingo A.U. 1985 "Islam and Political Legitimacy in Northern Nigeria" *Kano Studies,* 2:3, p.69, where he concluded that "although the ideals of the Islamic State were imperfectly applied in Northern Nigeria, the Emirate system of government was an advance on its predecessor, the Habe rule".
95. Abubakar, Sa'ad, 1977
96. Abubakar, Sa'ad, 1977
97. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim, 1989:50
98. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim, 1989: and Last, D.M. 1966:463
99. Abubakar, Sa'ad, 1977
100. Last, Murray 1977 *The .Sokoto Caliphate* Ibadan p. 74
101. Ado-Kurawa, Ibrahim 1989 *The Jihad in Kano* p.46
102. Last, D. M. 1966:463

103. Ado-Kurawa 1989:51
104. When al-Kanemi attacked Kano we captured and enslaved civilians who were coming out of the city for firewood and other things.
105. Ado-Kurawa 1989:*57.*
106. *E*specially Barkindo, B. M. 1989 'Kano Relations with Borno early times to C. 1800' in Barkindo, B. M. (ed) *Kano and Some of Her Neighbours* pp. I 47 169
107. Yahya, Dahiru 1999 'An Outline of the Idea of Freedom in the Qur'anic Thought System' p. 8., where he stated that since the controversy between Borno and Sokoto during the jihad of Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio the perceptions of Islam parted ways. "Borno's territories continued to contract as its influence continued to wane while Sokoto's territories and influence continued to expand considerably under the jihad: an influence, which continues to persist to this day".
108. Said, H.I., 1983 "Notes on Taxation as a Political Issue in 19th Century Kano" in Barkindo *B. (ed)Studies in the History of Kano*
109. Said, H.I., 1978:247
110. Ado-Kurawa, 1989:57
111. Wakili, Haruna 1995 'The Bukhari of Hadeija Revolt 1848-1863: A Re-Examination' Kano Studies 3: 2 1989/94 where he stated that Bukhari was
112. Ado-Kurawa 1989
113. Wakili, Haruna 1995 and Hogben
114. Ado-Kurawa, 1989
115. Ado-Kurawa, 1990
116. Dantiye, N.I. 1985
117. Smith, M. G., 1964 "Maradi under Danbaskore" in Kabrry P. M. and Forde D. (eds.) West *African Kingdoms in the 19th Century.*
118. Palmer H. R. 1928:130
119. Dantiye N. 1., *1985,* "A Study of the Origins, Status and Defensive Roles of Four Kano Frontier Strongholds (Ribats) in the Emirate Period, 1809— 1903" Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, U.S.A.
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121. Yahya Dahiru**,** 1999 Aristocracy as a Factor in Social Change in the First Millennium of Kano History

CHAPTER FOUR

Reflections on the Growth and Development of Islam in Kano

Sulaiman Musa

Introduction

This paper discusses the growth and development of Islam in Kano from the 10th century to date. The discussion highlights the founders of Kano, the arrival of Bagauda, Islam in the 14th century, Islam in the 15th century, the 19th century Jihad in Kano and Islam in Kano today.

The Founders of Kano

At the end of the 10th century, a group of hunters settled on the hills of Kano. These hills are today known as Dala, Gwauron Dutse, Magwan and Fanisau. Their population increased rapidly due to the fertile land[1]. They had no specific political and social system as we have today. However, they had a chief who was very often the strongest among them. These people had a shrine which used the idol *Tsumburbura.* Barbushe,[2] the servant of the idol, was the chief priest. It was through him the idol communicated with the people. Every year, around the beginning of the *Hijrah* year, the Chief Priest would enter the tent of the shrine to receive the yearly message of the idol to the people. People would then gather

round him to receive the message. Then, they would circumambulate the shrine, nude, and after that sacrifice some sheep and dogs to the shrine before returning home.

At one such pilgrimage, the Chief priest prophesied the coming of Islam by saying that there would come a time in our life or in our children's time when a foreign nation will invade our land, build mosques on it and worship a God other than ours. They would be led by a man whose army would defeat ours.[3]

The Arrival of Bagauda

One day, Bagauda,[4] Abu Yazid's grandson, invaded Kano and introduced Islam. It is reported that Abu Yazid emigrated with a group of his men from Baghdad to Hausaland. When he arrived at Daura, one of the Hausa towns, he killed a snake that lived in a well and prevented people from using it except on Fridays.[5]

Not long after the arrival of Bagauda in Kano, another man came and wanted to destroy the *Shamusa* statue. He had a dream in which he was told that he should not destroy it. He consulted a group of people about his dream, and they advised him to go ahead and accomplish his deed. But he went blind before he could do that.[6] The Muslims who were seeking to destroy the statue were terror-stricken. Many years later, the Emir of Kano, Tsamiya, destroyed the statue and chased away the pagans who had been protecting it. In spite of all this, Islam did not spread in Kano during the period between the 8th and 13th century.

Islam in the 14th century

In the 14th century, during the reign of Sarki Ali Yaji bin Tsamiya, many Muslim Wangarawa and Fulani traders

arrived at Kano. Those who came from Mali region included about forty scholars to whom the spread of Islam in Kano was attributed. Unlike his predecessors, Sarki Yaji was renowned for his sense of justice, deep faith and efforts to spread Islam in the territories under his rule. It is reported that he was so irritated by some unbelievers who regularly defiled mosques that he and some of his Imams cursed them and they turned blind. Their leader was nominated *Sarkin Makafi*,[7] "leader of the blind", a position which still exists today in Kano.

Islam in the 15th century

At the beginning of the 15th century people began to show some laxity to the point that they almost turned away from Islam and went back to worshipping the statue (Shamusa). Fortunately, Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa came to power and restored Islam. He built a huge palace in the city. During his rule, the eminent scholar Sheikh Muhammad Bin Abdalkarim Al-Maghili At-Tilmisani[8] visited Kano. Sarki Rumfa was very impressed by his remarkable knowledge and righteousness and ordered him to write a book to help him run the affairs of state. Sheikh Al-Maghili wrote a book in which he shed light on the obligations of the King and those of his subjects. Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa adopted it as a constitution. Before leaving Kano, Sheikh Al-Maghli brought three of his distinguished sons to help disseminate Islam and Islamic culture. After his departure, another group of Tunisian scholars arrived at Kano and brought with them several Islamic law books, such as *Al-mudauwanat al-Kubra* and *Tafsir al-Jalalayn.* Islam became widespread to the point that Muslims started to celebrate first *Muharram* of every New

Year. The spread of Islam, at that time, was closely linked to the arrival of Arab tradesmen and scholars.

The 19th century Jihad in Kano

At the beginning of the 19th century the Reformer, Sheikh Usman Bin Foduye (d. 1817) identified three categories of people in Hausaland: unbelievers or atheists, who were worshipping stones and demons. They were the Hausa-speaking Maguzawa, then some nomadic Fulanis and Tuaregs; practicing Muslims and; Muslim puritans who were in the minority. After the Jihad which reformed Muslim practices in 1807 a pious man, Suleiman ibn Abi Hamman, became Emir. Hence, Islam became widespread in Kano until the arrival of British colonizers. On January 20th 1903, the British colonial army, under the command of colonel Morland, occupied Kano. The Emir Alu was exiled to Lokoja and his brother, Abbas, was appointed Emir.[10]

Islam in Kano Today

The British strove to reduce the influence of Islam. The official language was changed from Arabic to English. In addition, Emirs were subject to British rule not necessarily Islamic law. They subsequently amalgamated the Islamic and non-Muslim states and created one country, Nigeria. From that time on, fierce competition started between Muslims and non-Muslims.[11] In 1960, they were granted independence after spreading their religion and customs. Muslims were forced to adopt English law instead of the Shari'ah.[12] In spite of this, the impact of Islam is still deeply rooted in Kano through traditional Islamic Institutions and the *ulama* (Muslim scholars).

Islamic Institutions in Kano

Sheikh Muhammad Abdalkarim Al-Maghili At-Tilmisani settled for a short period of time in Kano at the end of the 15th century during the rule of Muhammadu Rumfa. There is no evidence that before leaving for Songhay, he founded an institute where Islamic studies and Arabic were taught. However, there is no doubt that people benefitted greatly from his deep knowledge. Some historical books point out that almost all the institutes in Kano were not founded until the 19th century. Doctor Ali Abu Bakr referred in his book "Arabic culture in Nigeria" to the following institutes:

1. **Mabara Institute:** It was set up by Sheikh Omar bin Mokhtar in 1789 A.D. when he came from Kabara (in Timbuktu) to Kano. He travelled to many cities in the Arabic Sudan in pursuit of knowledge. He turned to asceticism and Sufism and withdrew to the countryside. When Sheikh Uthman launched the Jihad and needed people from various regions, he asked this Sheikh to settle in Kano to guide and call people to Islam
2. **Atta'eeb Institute:** It was set up by Sheikh Suleiman, the Imam of Kano mosque during the rule of Emir Suleiman. His grandson Sheikh Adam took over after him. He was said to be a very skilled teacher and learned. He studied under Suleiman and Abu Bakr before moving to Zaria in pursuit of knowledge. At his death, he was succeeded by his brother Sheikh Talha, who is still teaching today at the Institute
3. **Madabo Institute:** It was founded in the second half of the 19th century by Sheikh Omar Yajumi, a specialist in teaching Khalil bin Ishaq's *Al–Mukhtasar* and other Islamic

law books, such as Ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani's *Ar-Rissalah*. His sons, Sheikh AbdulRahman Assayuti and Sheikh Abdallah who were jurists like their father, took over after his death

4. **Haj Nassir Interpretation Institute:** This institute was started by Sheikh Manzuri and Sheikh Nassir. The latter used to recite Qur'anic verses while the former would explain them in Hausa language. After their death, Sheikh Abdalwahb held classes of Islamic texts and commentary at this institute
5. **Ciromawa Institute:** It specializes in the Prophet's Traditions or *Ahadith*. This institute was opened by Sheikh Yunusa. Hassan, known as Bako, took over from him. The latter was in turn, succeeded by his son Abdalkarim, known as Sabo, who was endowed with more independent judgment skills (*ijtihad*) than his predecessors. He was versed in the *Ahadith*. After his death the institute collapsed
6. **The Institute of Abu Muhammad, Abdallah bin Jibril bin Muhammad, known as Dendo:** He studied under Sheikh Abdullahi of Gwandu and returned to his home town, Zaria, where he opened his institute. He introduced grammar and Arabic morphology. Sheikh Ridwan introduced Islamic Law and rhetoric's in the Institute.
7. **Imam Abu Muhammad's Institute:** The Imam moved from Zaria to Kano during the rule of the Emir Abdullahi bin Ibrahim Dabo in the second half of the 19th century. His lectures were attended by many students. After his death, his son, who later became one of the greatest scholars in Kano, took over the supervision of the institute.

Other Institutes

Many other institutes were founded in the 20th century and they played an important role in spreading Arabic and Islamic culture in Kano:

a. The institute of the great Poet and Judge, Ibrahim Maigari, who spent about 30 years spreading Islamic faith. He was once Chief Alkali (Judge) in Kano
b. The Institute of Waziri Gidado, a versed professor who devoted all his life to knowledge. He became *Wazir* (Grand Vizier) of Kano and proved his excellence in administration
c. The institute of Ustadh Muhammad Salga, who excelled in both Islamic law and language sciences
d. Institute of Abu Bakr Mijinyawa, one of the greatest scholars in Kano, who devoted his life to teaching. After his death, the institute was run by his son-in-law, Haji Muhammad Sani Kafinga
e. The Institute of Wali Suleiman. He was a very knowledgeable man who held science and scientists in high esteem. He devoted a major part of his life to teaching before taking the office of Administrator, a position not less important than the office of a Minister of State by then. At his death, his disciple Haj Muhammad Dan Amu[13] took over the supervision of the institute

Schools

There are many schools in Kano that teach Islamic and Arabic culture. Some were established by the local government, some by the state government and some by the Federal Government. The oldest Arabic school in Kano is the School for Arabic Studies, established in 1934.[14] It produced the Judges in the Northern Region of Nigeria, and many

Muslim Scholars in Nigeria today graduated from this school. Eminent ones among them are Professor Shehu Galadanci, the former Vice– Chancellor of the University of Sokoto and later Ambassador of Nigeria to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; Professor Muhammad Sani Zahradeen, former Vice-Chancellor of Bayero University Kano; and Professor Abu Bakr Aliyu Gwandu, former Vice-Chancellor of Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. The Bayero University, Kano, was affiliated to Ahmadu Bello University as Abdullahi Bayero College, Kano. In 1975, it became a University.[15] It has an Islamic studies department, an Arabic studies department, a history department and a department of Nigerian languages. The University has produced many valuable publications and journals on Arabic language and Islamic studies. Prominent among its journals are the yearly Kano studies journal and the Arabic studies journal published by the Arabic department. Other publications of the departments of Arabic and Islamic Studies are:

a. *At-tuhfa As-saniya* by Muhammad Tahir Maigari Al-Barnawi
b. Ash-Shaykh Ibrahim As–Seneghali: His Life, Opinions and Teachings, by Dr. Muhammad Tahir Maigari Al-Barnawi
c. How to Appreciate Arabic Literature, by Prof. Ali Naibi Suwaid
d. Arabic Language and Literature in Nigeria, by Prof. S.A.S. Galadanci
e. *Al-Fara'id al-jalila fi ulumil Qur'an* of Sheikh Abdallah bin Foduye, edited with commentaries by Dr. 'Abd-Ali Abdulhamid
f. *Al-hisn Ar-rasin fi ilm at–tasrif* of Sheikh Abdallah bin Foduye, edited with commentaries by Dr. Muhammad Saleh Hussein[16].

Islamic Culture

Since the founding of Kano there have been many great personalities of Islamic culture who became famous through

their knowledge and piety. Among them is Sheikh Muhammad Nassir Al-Kabari Al–Kanawi,[17] who was born in 1924 in Guringawa near Kano. He was Sufi leader in West Africa. He authored many books, among which are *Ithaf al-khalaq; al-mar'ah fil Hijab; Qam' al-fasad fil afdis-sadl alal-qabdi fi hadhihil bilad,* and the translation of the glorious Qur'an into Hausa. Among the celebrated Muslim personalities in Kano are Sheikh Abu Bakr Atiq, Sheikh Adam Muhammad al-Findiki, Sheikh Ahmad Tijjani bin Uthman al-Kanawi, Sheikh Muhammad Sani Al–Kafanghi and Alkali Naibi Suleiman Wali. Most of them are erudite scholars and prolific writers.

Conclusion

This has been a brief historical review on the development of Islam in Kano, a place founded by the hunters in the 9th century A.D. and is today among the ancient Islamic cities in Northern Nigeria. In this paper, we discussed the coming and spread of Islam in Kano, and mentioned some of the Islamic features still existing in form of religious schools and mosques. We also referred to some of the eminent personalities of Islamic learning in Kano and their writings on Arabic language and Islamic culture. As the city will continue to remain a center of Islamic civilization in Africa some Nigerian Muslims have argued that it deserves to have an Islamic University.

Notes and References

1. Alhaji Abubakar Dokaji, *Kano Ta Dabo Ci Gari,* (Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation, 1978), p.5.
2. Ibid p.7
3. Ibid.
4. It is argued that Bagauda may not be a Muslim but oral traditions indicate that he dislodged the shrine of Tsumburbura and drove away its worshippers. For details see Muhammad Sani Zahradeen. "The Place of Mosques in the History of Kano" in the *Studies in the History of Kano* (ed.) by Bawuro M. B. (Ibadan, Heinemann Educational Books), p. 57.
5. S.A.S. Galadanci, *Harakat al-lughat al–Arabiyyah wa Adabuha Fi Nijeriya,* (Cairo, Dar al-Macarif, 1982), pp. 44 – 45.
6. Alhaji Abubakar Dokaji, op. cit., p. 14.
7. Ibid.
8. Al–Maghili was born in 1425 A.D.
9. Ibid.
10. See I. A. B. Balogun. *The Life and Works of Uthman Dan Fodio* (Islamic Publications Bureau, Lagos, 1975),
11. See Sulaiman Musa: *Al-Sira' Baina al-Islam wal– ilmaniyyah* in *al-Dirasat al-Islamiyyah* Journal, Pakistan, vol. 27, No. 2, 1992.
12. *Ibid.*

PART II

The Political Perspectives

CHAPTER FIVE

Aristocracy as a Factor in Social Change in the First Millennium of Kano History

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The Kano aristocracy, otherwise known as the *sarakuna* as opposed to the *talakawa* (commoners) is the group of people who by virtue of hereditary rights controlled the coercive apparatus of state and dominated the affairs of Kano in the last one thousand years. This group is sustained by what is known as the *sarauta* system. The coercive apparatus of state control includes ideas as enshrined in pagan traditions, Islamic precepts, British colonial policies and finally the new Nigerian State. Another apparatus includes the various controls such as of wealth in form of land and trade, of men in form of slaves, of military power in form of conscripted or slave army, and of political power, both direct and indirect. The forms, roles and outlook of Kano *sarauta* system have been determined by the interplay of these factors in the last one thousand years.

Pagan ideas of rulership formed the basis of the *sarauta* system in Kano from Sarkin Kano Bagauda (999-1063) to Sarkin Kano Tsamiya (1307-1343). These ideas remain

consistent elements throughout Kano history, although with diminishing influence in spite of some occasional resurgence as under Kanajeji (1390-1410). They form the bedrock of Kano political tradition and court etiquette and govern to date the behavioral attitudes of the *sarakuna* towards the indulgent *talakawa.* The major strands of these pagan ideas are idolistic and mythical. They believe in the inequality of man and in the supernatural and redemptive powers of the *sarki.* These ideas are so entrenched as to weave themselves into the succeeding ideas accompanying the coming of Islam and western civilization into Kano. The versed *Malam* and the university professor both submit themselves to these pagan traditions more in deference to social norms than uncritically. The *sarakuna* expect and are given deference not because of any personal merit but because they come from a particular group.

With the growth of Islam in Kano, the new ideas brought by the religion struggled with the old pagan ideas for the control of state and of the minds of the people. In the reign of Sarkin Kano 'Ali Yaji (1349 -1385) the struggle reached its peak with Islam winning the upper hand. The ascendancy of Islam began culminating much later in the *Jihad* led by Shehu Usman Dan Fodiyo when Kano became incorporated into the new Islamic polity known as the Sokoto Caliphate. In that early period, the *sarakuna* utilized the expertise of Muslims to conduct successful military expeditions, which brought in a lot of benefits to Kano. Trade routes were opened from Kano to Borno and to the coastal regions to the south. The s*arakuna* began to accept Islam in great numbers. The Fulani *malamai* began to arrive in late 1300 and were given religious and judicial titles as the idea of the rule of law began to be

accepted. The alliance between the *sarakuna* and *malamai* waxed strong.

Events in the 1400s in northwest Africa, the Mediterranean and the Sahara drew Kano into the international scene. Arab scholars began to arrive this time not only with religious books but also political treatises imprinting an indelible mark on the political mentality of both the *sarakuna* and the *talakawa* as protectors of Islam. The ideas of checks and balances in rulership were introduced. The question of balance between the rights of the ruler and of the ruled, among many other ideas, was raised. Even though these ideas contained the seeds for emancipation they necessarily fortified absolutism. Subsequent expansion of trade with and across the Sahara strengthened the north-south and east-west trade routes across the Sudanic region with Kano becoming an important *entreport.* Cosmopolitan ideas and tastes were introduced underlining the present exotic oriental taste of the *sarakuna.* Fundamental Mediterranean influences can be observed in social life ranging from architecture, dress, culinary tradition and social relations among many others.

It is this absolutism in the *sarauta system* that Shehu Usman dan Fodiyo attacked *(Kitab al Farq)* and wanted to remove *(Ihya as Sunnah).* Shehu Usman and Shaykh Al-Maghili agreed on Islamic emancipatory ideas but were teachers of different backgrounds and saw the world rather differently. While Al-Maghili saw absolutism as the panacea for Muslim decline Usman dan Fodiyo saw the solution against absolutism in pristine, egalitarian Islam. The *Jihád* did not actually succeed in transferring its egalitarian precepts into Kano *sarauta* system. As a revolutionary ideology it had

no social technology or institutional facilities to back up its teachings. It became obvious after the success of the *Jihâd* in both Gobir and Kano that the new leaders lacked the practical capacity to run a state. Kano *Jihád* leaders had no alternative but to accept the advice of Shamakin Kano Nasamu and Dan Rimin Kano Barka of the necessity to adopt in whole the Kano Hausa *sarauta* structure built over the centuries. These were indeed the very structure Shehu Usman dan Fodiyo condemned in *Kitab al-Farq.*

Throughout the life of the Caliphate (1804-1904) Islam was subsumed into the *sarauta* system. It was of course given greater lip service but had no more influence than in the immediate period before the *Jihád.* The *sarakuna* assumed the title of *toya matsafa* while in fact many of them were in reality *raya matsafa.* It was not Shehu Usman dan Fodiyo's *Kitab al-Farq* or Abdullahi Gwandu's *Diyá al-hukkdm* or Muhammad Bello's *Infaq al Maysur* but Shamakin Kano Nasamu's and Dan Rimin Kano Barka's advice which had enduring impact on Kano Fulani *sarakuna.*

With the British conquest of Kano, the *sarauta* system widened the dimension of its influence at the expense of the loss of real power. To the practical service to paganistic traditions and real or lip-service to Islamic symbolism was added the service to colonial authority. The British did not attempt to overtly disturb the authority of Kano *sarakuna* or their Islamic religious leadership. They would rather subjugate them both to British colonial rule. The *sarakuna* collected the taxes but they did not fix them. They maintained law and order even though they neither made the law nor the order. They endured the humiliation of the colonial officers even as the *talakawa* endured the humiliation they suffered

from the *sarakuna.* For all these the *sarakuna* earned the hatred of a large section of the *talakawa.*

The hardly veiled struggle between the new secular values brought by the British and the new unearthed Caliphal values ensued. The British developed the habit of dealing ruthlessly with any hostile activities with Islamic religious overtones. In this respect, they shared the sympathy of the *sarakuna* who feared the challenge of their religious leadership from the anti-colonial *malamai.* These representatives of the Caliphal values therefore operated subtly from the underground among the *talakawa.* However, during the reign of Abdullahi Bayero (1926-1953), the *malamai* were able to infiltrate the *sarauta* system. They occupied important positions in the administrative and judicial arms of the native authority. Positions they utilized to promote the influence of Islamic values within the *sarakuna* and their children.

The conflict between the British secular colonial authority and the Islamic contemporary trend became more open in the last days of colonialism. The British used the policy of arm-twisting to rid the state of all traces of Islamic influences and the legacies of the caliphate. The first and most important target of the British was the *Shari 'ah* legal code. The *Shari'ah* was the only enduring legacy of the *Jihád* even though it predated it. It provided checks and balances for individual and state action. The discrediting of the *Shari'ah* could pave way for the entrenchment of a full-fledged secular state. The British used Kano *sarakuna* to achieve that end. The Kano *sarauta* system was perhaps the most influential and overtly religious institution of its kind in Nigeria. The Emir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi (1953-63) was made to make a fatal statement over the radio to the effect that the *Maliki Shari'ah*

code was outdated and could not serve the purposes of a modern state. He was later to become a prominent religious leader after his abdication. The Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of Northern Nigeria made the same statement in his book, *My Life.* It was already on record that when Sir Muhammadu Sanusi became emir, he had the misfortune to supervise the dismantling of the religious policies of the previous emir, his father, Abdullahi Bayero and a successive retirement of the *malamai* from the services of the Kano Native Authority.

The *sarakuna* became entrenched through alliances with powerful or influential segments of Kano society: first with *bayin sarki* (royal slaves), then m*alamai* (religious scholars), the *'yan boko* (western educated elites) and recently the *'yan kasuwa* (the business community). *Bayin sarki* were crucial for the survival of the *sarakuna* and became a constant factor throughout Kano history. Their uncompromising loyalty to the *sarakuna* derives from the fact that originally as slaves and non-indigenes of Kano their security and welfare was fully dependent on the *sarakuna.* Slaves were acquired through various methods - razia, gifts, sales, etc. They were usually non-Hausa, non-Muslim and from small tribes on the highlands where the topography could not support large population. The excess population, which was ejected to the lowlands, became slaves who were used as soldiers or workforce. It should be noted that even today the bulk of Nigerian foot soldiers and domestic service in the lowlands come from the small tribes of the highlands, where a large population cannot be maintained.

For centuries the *sarakuna* copulated with the daughters of *bayin sarki* to produce biologically superior species of, and

conveniently surplus, children. They give out their surplus daughters in marriage to their vassals and other influential people so as to establish alliances bound with blood relationships: for blood is thicker than water. The most gifted sons succeed their fathers in the hierarchy of the *sarakuna* and the rest are released to society where they become in spirit, the representatives of the *sarakuna* in the lower rank of Kano society.

The biological collaboration between the *bayin sarki* and the *sarakuna* extends to rulership itself. Every titleholder was, and still is, surrounded by a retinue of royal slaves - some of whom are his maternal uncles or cousins. Every vacant traditional post was, and still is temporarily occupied by a *bawan sarki* until a substantive holder is appointed. Even in the royal palace where the *shamaki,* the chief of *bayin sarki,* held sway, the *sarki* himself was virtually a captive. When the British came they clearly understood the situation and relied on *bayin sarki* to prosecute colonial policies. In the reign of Sarkin Kano Abbas (1903-1919) a British colonial resident raised one of the high slave officials, the *Dan Rimi* of Kano, Alabarsarki to the exalted position of the *waziri* of Kano. The excesses of the *bayin sarki* in the colonial period reached its peak during the reign of Sarki Usman II (1919-1926) that the British colonial resident found it expedient to exile the top slave officials to Kode, a nearby village to the south of Kano. No wonder that in the mass mentality, the *bayin sarki* are represented as the scourge of the innocent *talakawa: bawan sarki maganin bawan Allah.*

The *sarakuna* patronized the *malamai,* who are the custodians of the moral values of society and have therefore considerable influence on the mind of the impoverished

talakawa. They used to provide clerical and judicial services as well as practical advice to the *sarakuna.* Through their prayers they provide inner security and a form of certainty. The *malamai* reaped certain benefits both tangible and intangible. Some of them became incorporated into the *sarauta* system through grant of titles and marriage to royal princesses. The *malamai* are however a greater factor in social change in Kano in their relationship with *sarakuna* than is ordinarily imagined. Since the time of 'Ali Yaji (1349 -1385) the *malamai* determined the acceptability or otherwise of any form of change in Kano from the acceptance of lofty ideas such as education to ordinary mundane acts like the legality of eating bread or drinking pipe-borne water. In governance they provided a counterforce against the *bayin sarki* who insisted and still insist on mystifying the *sarakuna* and shielding them from the reality of life. The *malamai* on the other hand guide the *sarakuna* to come to terms with the responsibility of leadership as a divine trust which the *sarakuna* will be called to account on the Day of Judgment.

On the eve of independence, the influence of the *malamai* was on the wane. They were replaced with *'yan boko,* the new western educated elite who passed out of middle schools and teacher training colleges. They were employed as scribes and other officials of the colonial administration. Most of these new western educated elites emerged from the *sarakuna* cluster. It is this group of people that the *sarakuna* promoted to participate with them in the First Republic politics. They nominated them as legislators and ministers of state at all levels of governance.

The *sarakuna* themselves participated actively in the affairs for independence. The Emir of Kano was a minister

without portfolio in the Northern Region. In fact, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi was an acting governor of the region, the first indigene to hold that post in Northern Nigeria. He attended constitutional conferences at home and abroad with the premier of northern Nigeria. The weakest point of the *sarakuna* was however, their inability to treat politics with even handedness their status would suggest. They all sided with the ruling party, the Northern Peoples Congress. They indeed made it the winning party through vigorous promotion of its manifesto and candidates and merciless persecution of the members of the opposition party, especially the supporters of NEPU, Northern Elements Progressive Union. The marriage of convenience between the *sarakuna* and party politics came to an unhappy end with the forced abdication of the Emir, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi as a result of a Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of Kano Native authority set up by the NPC government Sir Muhammadu Sanusi had blindly supported and promoted.

The fall of Sir Muhammadu Sanusi brought the *sarakuna* to crossroads. The *'yan boko* whether as civil servants or politicians were, unlike the *bayin sarki* and the m*alamai,* not altogether reliable. The '*yan boko* having a higher status in the public service detested the administrative pretenses of the *sarakuna.* As politicians, the *'yan boko* competed with the *sarakuna* for the control of the *talakawa.* The *'yan boko* whom the *sarakuna* had carefully nurtured and promoted now turned their backs against the *sarakuna.* On the other hand supporters of the opposition political parties whom the *sarakuna* had persecuted were assuming increasing relevance not only in public affairs but also among the *talakawa.* The *sarakuna* were again faced from another direction with the demands of a

modern state which forced reforms which robbed them of all of their important roles in governance including executive, legislative and judicial functions. The decision of the *sarakuna* to insulate themselves from partisan politics in the Second Republic was a wise one even though the politicians themselves, understandably, failed to stop their wars against the *sarakuna.* Politicians generally detest the *sarakuna* for the *Sarauta* system has developed and maintained through a systemization of divergent cultural currents a near mythical aura, which inspires awe in, as well as adulation from, the *talakawa.* This is where the secrets of its resilience and attraction lie. Every group with an achievement to show would like to share in that public awe and adulation. Many a politician of any tendency would sneak, at the earliest opportunity, an uncle or even a father into the *sarauta* system through a grant of *sarauta* title by the Emir and a district to oversee. It has therefore not been particularly difficult for the *sarakuna* to adjust their role in a changing society. They can easily acquire new loyalty without altogether dispensing with the old ones.

Of recent the *'yan kasuwa* appear from all accounts to have replaced the *'yan boko* in the *sarauta* system as honorary title holders. When the *'yan kasuwa* started to receive *sarauta* titles in the last two decades it was considered as an aberration much more than the incorporation of some of the *sarakuna* into the business profession. The two interrelated developments can both be explained and justified by the increasing importance of wealth in contemporary society. The changing patterns of leadership, which have shifted from traditional reliance on loyalty to a democratic reliance on wealth, is another important factor.

The *'yan kasuwa* were of course not unrelated to the *sarauta* system. They have for centuries co-operated with the *sarakuna* to make Kano the center of commerce it has always been and the central reason for its fame. The *'yan kasuwa,* otherwise known as *attajirai,* constitute one of the four pillars of governance in Kano tradition. The others are the *sarakuna,* the *malamai* and the *sharifai* (the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W)). They have been represented on the emirate council since the reign of Abdullahi Bayero (1926-1953). The *'yan kasuwa* have now greatly enriched the *sarauta* tradition, enhanced its ceremonial color and given it the much desired protection against modern political predators.

Kano *sarauta* system has traveled a long journey across so many bridges over the last one thousand years. It has seen so many changes to which it has admirably adapted itself. It has experienced a number of vicissitudes in this journey and crossed many landmarks, which transformed Kano from one society to another and has preserved the best of what it experienced. Sarkin Kano 'Ali Yaji (1343-1349) wisely steered Kano society to accept Islam without offending his pagan officials and laid the foundation of a responsive government in Kano. Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) led the *sarauta* system to accept the superiority of law over tradition by accepting the balance between the rights of the ruler and the rights of the ruled. Sarkin Kano Dabo (1819-1846) was able to reconcile the *Jihâd* values with Kano traditionalism. Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Bayero (1926 - *53)* was the synthesizer between colonial demands and Islamic values and laid the intellectual foundation of modern Kano. Finally, the incumbent Sarkin Kano Ado Bayero is a man of virtues. He is able to uphold the dignity of the *sarauta* system under very

difficult and trying times while, other institutions seem to have lost their values.

In the last one thousand years, the Kano *sarauta* system has been more a dependable rather than a dependent institution. All value systems and all forms of rulerships depended on the *sarauta* system for survival. Traditionalism, early Islam, Jihâdist rulership, British colonial administration, First Republic politicians, the military inter regnum as well as the promotion of western education and modernity rely on the goodwill and the sagacity of the public relations of the *sarauta* system. No matter the transformation and the bitterness attached to it, the *sarakuna* have patiently and efficiently performed the functions circumstances have attached to them. They have seen a rapid loss of vital functions in the last two hundred years and more especially in the last three decades that some observers have already declared them an endangered species. Yet there is still evidence of vitality in them and the will to survive and perhaps, even flourish. As long as politicians remain irresponsive to peoples' aspirations, the public will always look up to the *sarakuna* for leadership.

The future, however, seems to look less rosy; for the modern state appears to have no room for the *sarauta* system. Under the modern state, people elect their executives for a period of time. The executives are empowered by the constitution to determine their advisers. People also elect their legislators for a specific term. The judiciary is an independent institution with trained personnel. Islam will in the future have no role for the *sarakuna* as well. There is already a growing agitation by young Muslims to attach learning and piety to Islamic leadership as Islam itself insists and the *sarakuna* are not known for their depth of learning or piety.

Resurgent Islam and modernity will concur on the opposition to *sarakuna's* court etiquette with its paganistic antecedents and archaic outlook. Social relations will in the future be increasingly egalitarian and the *sarakuna's* present nonchalant attitudes towards the *talakawa* will not endear them to democratic tendencies where leaders go out to look for people.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Role of the *Sarauta* Institution in Shaping the Spatial Growth and Community Integration in Kano City

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Introduction

Kano city is an ancient town of great antiquity which grew gradually from a simple community of hunters who decided to stay and occupy some rocky hills to a giant political and economic power, which encompasses even much earlier settlements in the surrounding countryside that came to be referred to as *Kasar Kano* (land or territory of Kano). The political and economic developments that had been taking place over the centuries must have been the reasons that gave birth to the present State of affairs so much so that the greatness and influence of this city are felt all over the globe at least, for the past five hundred years. This paper intends to narrate and analyze the role of leadership, trade and migration in settlement formations with particular reference to Kano city and see how and who established the various Wards (*Unguwanni*) from the earliest periods to the end of the 19th century and their roles in the economic and political growth and development of this great city. The paper is divided into two main parts: the first part dealing with the

origin of settlement in the region and the earliest settlers from the ancient times to 999 A.D. The second part however, deals with the introduction of *Sarauta* system in Kano and the economic and political development that shaped the spatial growth of the city and the process of integration among the settlers from the 14th century to the end of the 19th century.

The *sarauta* form of leadership, meaning monarchy, kingship or royalty, was introduced and institutionalized in Kano from 999 to l999 with some varying degrees at least in the early 19th century. *Sarki* is therefore, the overall leader or highest authority in the society. The term "monarchy" has been used in both broad and narrow sense. The broad sense is found in the writings of ancients such as Herodotus and the poets where it simply denotes the rule of one man whether good or bad, legitimate or unlawful, wise or incompetent which had its roots in culture and traditions of a society. However, Plato and Aristotle introduced distinctions that narrowed the term by re-structuring it to a "rule by one good person." Plato defined the good person by reference to law and Aristotle did so by reference to happiness.[3] This is referred to as monarchy and is what is exactly obtained in Kano from the eleventh to the end of the 18th centuries under the Bagauda, Rumfa and Kutumbawa dynasties.

A Theory of the Hausa States

The state of Kano which took its name from the capital city lies between latitude 10:30N and I:3S and between longitude 7:40E and 10:3513 with an area of about 20,760 sq. kilometers. An official estimated population put the figures at about 6 million people based on the 1991 national population census. Kano city and its environs are officially termed as

"metropolitan Kano" at a mean height of 472. *4511* above sea-level which made it the largest city in the whole of Northern Nigeria.[4]

The people of Kano (*Kanawa*) are predominantly Hausa-speaking people whose origin according to oral traditions was traced to Bayajidda, the so-called legendary founder of the Hausa States between 8th and 9th centuries A.D. The legend was however, criticized and rejected by many historians and scholars who argued that the theory/legend was a mere folk tales full of contradictions that assigns false Arabic origins to the Hausa people and their language. In addition to this, the legend also neglected an important human element in which the so-called founder must have met some people in the area he was said to have founded with a strong institution of their Sarauta system headed by a king or queen (of Daura) and these Native inhabitants had their own language of communications which was almost certainly Hausa. The Bayajidda legend was therefore, suspended as nothing other than a myth.[5] Also the idea that the Hausa people emerged about the end of the first millennium A.D. from a mixture of a nameless sub-Saharan Negroes and Barber immigrants from North Africa and that the **union of** these tribes produced the Hausa States (i.e. the Hermitic theory) was also discredited due to the absence of any evidence for the substantial barber migrations into Hausaland or their influence before and during the said period.[6)]

Another view, however, maintained that the origin of Hausa people could be traced to the present State of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) or in Hausa '*Habashe*' who were said to have gradually migrated west ward as a result of political conflicts between two parties with regards to the issue of succession.

The defeated faction therefore, decided to flee the town and migrate in mass with their people west ward until they reached the ancient town of Gaya (some 40 miles East of Kano City) where they settled permanently and established a community of Hausa speakers. It is this group of people according to this tradition that later gradually moved and spread to other places to form the rest of the Hausa States. This theory was justified by some linguistic and cultural influences of the Amharic language of the Ethiopians in the Hausa language and culture. The word "Hausa" for instance they said is a derivational noun from "*Habasha*" (i.e. Abyssinia). "*Maguzawa*" they said is also derived from the Amharic word of "*Maguza*" which means "Royal" in addition to many other similar items of traditions and culture of the Hausa people which resembles those of the Ethiopians.[7] This theory is also being contemplated in view of the absence of any archaeological evidence to prove that Gaya town is the oldest of all the Hausa States and why Gaya town was not even listed among the seven oldest Hausa States (*Hausa Bakwai*). I therefore, agree with Smith that the origin of Hausa people can only be traced to their own language (i.e. Hausa speaking people) which belonged to the Chadic Group of languages emerging from members of the Afro-asiatic family.[8] These included the Waijawa, Aurawa, Diryarwa, Ajawa, Rumawa, Kulunibawa and Maguzawa who are identified as Hausa-speaking peoples in the ancient times that had gradually migrated in large numbers to the central Sudan regions before or during the first millennium[9]). The movements of these people from the north and north-east to the south and south-west was further accelerated by the gradual desertification of the Sahara. The relatively well-

watered regions of *Kasar Kano* became attractive to many of these migrants who established some sedentary agricultural communities in the neighborhoods of what later came to be known as *Kasar Kano* such as Challawa, [10] Wawan Rafi, Birnin Kudu, Dutse Gadawur, Santolo and Fungai areas some of which were dated to about 2000-2,500 years B.C.[11] Others found their way to form the rest of the Hausa States which by the beginning of the present millennium covers an area roughly bounded by a line running from Abzin south wards as far as the north-eastern corner of the Jos highlands, thence west ward to the bend of Kaduna river, than north-west to the valley of Gulbin Kebbi and then North-eastwards to Abzin all of which encompasses territories made up of Adar, Daura, Kano, Kebbi, Gobir, Damagaran, Zazzau, etc. [12)]

It is worth noting that the term *maguzawa* (sing. *bamaguje*) is applied to Hausa-speaking peoples who practised their traditional religion but upon acceptance or conversion to Islam, he automatically transmutes from '*Bamaguje*' to a '*Bahaushe*'. The distinctions between the various subgroups of the *maguzawa* do not therefore, appear to have been fundamentally based on ethnic foundations but rather, were brought about by other factors particularly religion.

Kano City

The most important geographical features of Kano city are the two prominent and historic hills of *Dala* and *Gwauron Dutse* which were identified as the beginning of settlement in the region. The pyramid-shaped rocks were named after the king of the earliest community that lived around it (Gwauro) and his wife the Queen (*Dala*) who were said to have been buried beneath the two hills after their death. Archaeological

findings on the bodies of these corpses date back to about 14,000 years ago which is as old as any civilization on earth.[13] How and when the red-sand of the Dala Hill was formed is yet to be known since the nature and type of this soil cannot be found in any part of *Kasar Kano* which therefore, suggests that it might have been built as a palace Dome for the then rulers as happened during the ancient Egyptian civilization. The earliest community which might have clustered around these areas was referred to as the capital of Gazarzawa territory before it was later renamed as the Dala region after the first generation might have entirely perished. This view seems to be worthy of considerations in view of the fact that some classical historians had asserted that settlements around Dala and Goron Dutse Hills can be traced to the Homosapien.[14]

The detailed history of this earliest community was said to have been written and documented by the last Habe King of Kano, Muhammadu Al-wali (1781-1806) but the document and many other valuable works was said to have been destroyed and burnt to ashes following the victory of the Fulani Jihadists in 1806.[15]

With the passage of time however, another generation of inhabitants around the red-sand Hill and the Rock mountain of Goron Dutse who were referred to as the Maguzawa and their various subgroups had gradually migrated from the various regions of the North- central Sudan before and during the first half of the first millennium A.D (500 BC-500 AD). This is also a period when Kano witnessed the arrival of a community of hunters into the area of Dala region at the head of their giant leader "Dalla" who kills an elephant with stick and carries it nine miles on his head.[16]

These people according to the chronicler, settled and occupied about six rocky areas in the vicinity of Dala region, Goron-Dutse, Magwan, Jigirya, Tanagar and Fanisau each of the Hills regarded as having been the residence of an ancestor of a group based on certain unity under the overall chieftainship of Dalla himself long before the arrival of the Abagayawa. These ancestors of the Maguzawa hunters are believed to have originally came from Abzin and ancestral worship is the best description of their religion.[17]

Our choice, to begin with the residence around the Dala Hill in particular, is to suggest a settlement pattern whereby the chief priest of the god (*Tsumburbura*) at that time lived on top of the Hill while the rest of the community lived around it. The Jakara river (a mangrove forest) around which this earliest settlement clustered was very important in the development of other settlements around the Dala Hill where the earliest settlers used to hunt animals. Prominent among these hunters was Gagiyawa who was said to be so strong that he caught an elephant with rope.[18] The social systems and life pattern of these giant hunters of the Dala region represented in the collective memory of the people, a typical hunting communities of the late stone age period with evidence of some Neolithic implements found in abundance around the neighborhoods of the Dala Hill.[19] Among the people who came with Dala and settled with him were his wife and seven children, four males and three females. Gargeje was said to be the most senior child of Dala and the grandfather of Barbushe. Most classical sources on Kano History such as the Borno Mehrem consistently referred to this earliest settlement that developed around the red-sand Hill as the Dala region.

The discovery and introduction of iron technology in the second half of the first millennium A.D marked the first stage of a gradual transition from the life-style of the late stone-age period to that of an iron-age period, a major landmark in the history of the emergence of *Birnin Kano*. By the 6th and early 7th century A.D several craft works and professions were introduced and practiced around the Dala Hill. Each clan headed by a pagan chief specializing in a particular occupation. They were also the religious as well as the political heads of their various clans who assisted the overall leader and also administered their people on his behalf. [22] Dala which was to become the nucleus of the future city was, therefore, a center of migrations and political power especially during the reign of the 5th chief "Barbushe" whose power and influence extended over the surrounding country side of about 40 miles radius long before the arrival of Abagayawa in the 8th century A.D [23] or the establishment of the Bagauda dynasty in the 11th century. It was probably by the early century A.D that the Abagayawa (another wave of pagan migrants) under their leader 'Kano or Kanau" from Gaya arrived in their search for ironstones around the Dala Hill and therefore, decided to settle permanently. The Abagayawa who might have gained more prominence over other iron working groups in the use and forging of metal products excelled so much so that the whole settlement of the Dala region was later re-named after their leader Kano, who many sources wrongly referred to as the grandfather of Barbushe instead of Dala.[24] This historical development led to the wrong conclusion that Kano city was founded or first settled by the Abagayawa and so the people of Gaya were reputed by many people and other sources of history to be the

founders or the earliest settlers of the city[25] to the extent that Gaya Town and its nearby villages even claimed to be older than Kano city (Dala region).[26] Kano was said to have given birth to three children: Kokau, Malam and Jibrin and still now sure few individuals mostly blacksmiths in the Dala ward of Kano city identified themselves as Abagayawa claiming to be the descendants of Kano [27] But a careful study of the names of Kano's children especially "Malam" and "Jibrin" which are purely Muslim names, reveals some elements of skepticism since by that period, Islam was never introduced into the whole of Hausaland.

The fact is that oral traditions and other sources of history maintained that Gaya town itself was founded by a group of migrant community from the neighbouring village of Jibede in the territory of Dutse Gadawur who came and settled under their leader *Gayya*. Among these earliest settlers of Gaya town was *Kano* himself who acted as a deputy to *Gayya* and whose house was also made to be the meeting point of these settlers.[28] This therefore shows that Kano who was described as a great hunter and a wandering smither as well, was a contemporary of *Gayya* (the founder of Gaya Town) and so can never be 200 years older. It was in the search of working materials (iron-ore) that Kano was able to trace the Dala Hill from Gaya where he found the area to be abundant with such mineral deposit and consequently decided to settle permanently. This development had not only attributed the foundation of Kano city to the Abagayawa, but had also related the professions of iron works around the Dala Hill to Gaya origin. But the chronicler which had recorded a more elaborate tradition on the origin and development of several craft occupations around the Dala Hill, miners were

clearly separated from iron smelters and neither of the two groups had ever claimed a Gaya origin nor was Kano mentioned among the prominent eleven occupational chiefs of the earliest settlers.

However, in another account from the renowned Islamic scholar, Sheikh Muhammad Nasir Kabara, *Kano* was a smither who migrated from a town called Dahlak in the middle east due to political instability and settled around the Dala Hill together with his family. Since then, the settlement around the Dala Hill came to be identified with his name.[29] Hisket on the other hand in his *Wakar Bagauda* regarded *Kano*, the leader of the Abagayawa migrants, as a farmer rather than a hunter or smither, while Palmer in "Bornu, Sahara and the Sudan" considered *Kano* and the Abagayawa as smithers but who got the supply of their charcoal only from the Dala region. [30] This therefore, showed that Kano and the Abagayawa migrants must have heard about the activities around the Dala Hill before they decided to migrate and settle. The Abagayawa story had neatly exploited a lacuna in the Kano Chronicle which mentions Barbushe's father as Bazame, his great grandfather as Garaji and Dala as his great great grandfather but omitted any mention of his grandfather. Moreover, Kano was a smither while Barbushe and his ancestors were all hunters: two incompatible occupations.

Although it is reasonable to accept the fact that the Abagayawa were among the earliest inhabitants of Kano city when a group of smithers including probably some of the ancestors of the Maguzawa moved into the area of Dala Hill between the 8th and 9th centuries[31] no sufficient evidence had been provided to justify the claim that they were the earliest settlers of the Dala Hill. Much more probable in both physical

evidence and written documents is that Gaya developed as an ancient town on the Borno route and thus became, at times, more popular and important than the settlement at the Dalla region. This is why Gaya town featured more prominently than Kano in most classical sources such as the Borno Mehrem.[32]

Towards the end of the first millennium A.D a large scale influx of migrants into Kano took place which was occasioned by a widespread famine brought about by draught. The fertile lands of Kano together with its reach minerals and commercial developments attracted these migrants. They included people from all parts of central Sudan such as Daura, Borno, Air, Adar, Kebbi, Katsina and Abzin.[33] With this increase in population, the former top hill locations could not accommodate the people. Consequently, there was the need to move down and settle on the surrounding plains to establish other settlements adjacent to the Dala Hills.

Introduction of the Sarauta System and Political Developments, 999-1800

With the gradual demise of strong personalities like Barbushe, the Maguzawa were left with weak leaders who could not maintain law and order in the community People therefore, began to take their cases for settlement to Daura which was by then the most powerful state in Hausaland. Such request for arbitrations became so frequent that the rulers of Daura felt it feasible to send as ruler, one of the sons of Bawo called Bagauda who could maintain law and order among the Kanawa in 999. However, another source maintained that Bagauda was a native of Gaude village in the

present area of Gaya District and so the name of Bagauda was a derivational noun from Gaude. So Bagauda, or in other words Bagaude, means a man from Gaude town in the same way we can call a person from Kano as Bakane.[34] Another source maintains that Bagauda was just a military adventurer from the far north-eastern region of tsotsebaki who arrived at the head of a very large army.[35] The closing years of the first millennium therefore, witnessed the arrival of another migrant group into Kano. They first settled at Garazawa where Bagauda built his house which had been a focal point of the migrants. But after a short stay, Bagauda and his followers left Garazawa and conquered many settlements such a Bauni, Gasauri, Dubgege, Fasataro and Bakin Bunu before he finally established himself at Sheme which he made his capital and also imposed himself as the nominal chief of all the local communities in the area from 999 to 1063[36] The first offices he created appeared to have been purely military ones, but nevertheless, he did not succeed in subduing the whole area. This development therefore, marks the introduction and subsequent establishment of "Royalty or Monarchy" in Kano under the Bagauda or Habe dynasty which lasted for about eight centuries.

After the death of Bagauda his son Gajimasu (1095-1134) moved the capital from Sheme southwards to Gazarzawa in the vicinity of the Dala chiefdom and soon began to face opposition from the Maguzawa local chiefs, but in the long run, he resorted to a peaceful diplomatic approach for the mutual benefit of the two parties. This is because the Maguzawa were experts in craft productions and metal implements while the Bagaudawa whose occupation was mainly agriculture needed the iron industry of the Maguzawa

for the provision of working materials. He therefore ruled the area indirectly through the local chiefs but nevertheless, continued to spy on the secret powers of the Tsumburbura cult.[37]

During the reign of Yusa or Tsaraki (1136-1194) some military campaigns for territorial expansions had begun and he raided extensively to consolidate his control over the surrounding territories. The increase in dynastic military power appeared to have expanded the boundaries through the incorporation of the subjugated communities and the new settlements established by the Bagaudawa migrants. It was during this period that the building of the city wall (*badala*) was started enclosing Dala and its adjacent areas in expectations for retaliations from the Maguzawa inhabitants.[38]

After Tsaraki, his son Naguji (1194-1247) also attacked many towns and villages near the city and forced the people to pay him tribute and also imposed poll tax on each family. The rule of Zamna-Gawa (1343-1349) saw the completion of the defensive wall (*badala*) after the Maguzawa stockades were attacked and destroyed during the earlier reign and also when most of their various clan leaders were killed with many of their followers fleeing the city to the countryside.[39] This was the period when the city (*birni*) must have emerged [40)] and the Bagaudawa dynasty was firmly established even though the cult of *Tsumburbura* was still dominated by the people of Barbushe. It was Sarki Tsamiya (13 07-1343) who had successfully overcome the god of *Tsumburbura* and destroyed its shrine after refusing a bribe of 200 slaves offered to him by the leaders of the cult. With the final destruction of the oracle, remnants of the Maguzawa also left the city and many of their leaders killed with the exception of Gare and Dunzagu who

Tsamiya gave political titles as a reward for the information they supplied to him on the secret powers of the *Tsumburbura*. Thus through conquest and coercion most of the neighbouring Maguzawa rocky settlements such as Goron Dutse, Fanisau, Jigirya, etc. were eventually brought under the Bagaudawa suzerainty with the exception of Santolo, the last and the only remaining stronghold of the Maguzawa. These achievements on the side of the Bagaudawa were followed by the evolution of elaborate court ceremonies and the related paraphernalia of state and warfare in which ceremonial longhorns were blown in praise of the ruler.[42]

The period of Yaji dan Tsamiya (1349-1385) in which both political and economic developments of Kano went hand in hand, saw the final destruction of Maguzawa stronghold of Santolo with the help of Wangarawa migrants from Mali who came to Kano through the east-west trade route. They arrived at the head of a military might and brought with them military men, cavalry, quilted armor, lances as well as broad swords with superior knowledge and experience of war tactics which had been critical in the decisive siege of Santolo and its environs.[43] The Wangarawa were at that time faced with political and economic crisis that led to the demise of their empire of Mali and so decided to migrate west-ward till they reached Kano. This can be noted in Yaji's request to the Wangarawa warriors who were accompanied by Muslim scholars and missionaries:

> "I want you to offer prayers for me so that I may conquer the men of Santolo, for if I conquer Santolo, every town in the south will follow me since Santolo is the key to the South."[44]

The defeat of Santolo therefore, launched the subsequent subjugation and incorporation of the rich lands of the southern regions of *Kasar Kano* and hence, the Bagaudawa consolidated their power and created the city-State of Kano with a central form of government. Thus after three centuries of struggle and diplomacy, the earliest founders and inhabitants of *Birnin Kano* (Kano city) were completely subdued and finally displaced. This earned Sarki Yaji the praise song of: "Yaji the conqueror of the rocky heights, scatterer of hosts, lord of the Town"[45]

With the final subversion of *Tsumburbura* and the subsequent defeat of Santolo by the Bagaudawa dynasty, a central form of government was established and Kano remained an independent and conquering race for the next 600 years during which they had 26 successive Kings (*Sarakuna*) all directly descended from Bagauda.

The progressive increase in the political authority of Kano rulers was further accompanied by the elaboration of the outward symbols of power. A number of political and administrative titles were instituted such as *Dan Buram, Dan Kududufi, Dan Baba* and *Dan Akasan* which were conferred on royal princes. The subsequent periods also witnessed the introduction of kingship regalia such as padded horse armor (*lifidi*), iron helmets (*kwalkwali*), and courts of chain mails (*sulke*) into the Kano armory. Trumpets, flags and ceremonial riding camels were added from the reign of Sarki Dauda to that of Abdullahi Burja (1421-1452) and by the latter date we can assume that the Kingdom of Kano had acquired a more positive shape and the *Sarki* had probably begun to emerge as an autocrat. [46)] Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Burja (1438-1452) was said to be the first ruler to have acquired camels in Hausaland,

which my well suggest the first direct trade with the Sahara rather than through Bornu or the Niger-bend. Since that period, two camels became the symbols of Kano royalty (*Tambarin Kano*) and certainly by this time, a caravan route from Kano to the Ghat (North Africa) had been opened.

These were accompanied by a number of economic and commercial developments in which Kano became a center for the manufacture of various cotton goods, iron works, leather products, etc. Major trade routes opened between the various States of the central Sudan on the one hand and between these States and the communities of the Volta region. These economic and commercial expansions together with other related developments in the spheres of agriculture, industry, mining and manufacturing made it possible for Kano to establish trading and diplomatic relations with other countries far and near.[47]

The city of Kano and its environs started to attract several groups of peoples from all parts of the Sudan and beyond with diverse origins, cultures and civilizations from this period up to the end of the 19th century which consequently made the region the most densely populated.[48] From the rule of Yaji (1349-1385) various immigrant groups of merchants, scholars and artisans came and settled in Kano which included the Wangarawa, Bornoans, Fulanis, Tuaregs, Arabs, etc. This had a great impact on the social, political and economic history of Kano such as the spread of Islam and Islamic Education, the development and growth of the commercial and industrial sectors, and more importantly, the increase of population in Kano and its environs that called not only for an extensions of the walls and gates of Kano city, but also for the strengthening of its defences.[49]

Most important of these groups of migrants were the Wangarawa scholars and merchants who were not only forced to leave their country due to political crises, but were also attracted by the economic developments in Kano. Their arrival in Kano was important, for with their help, Yaji was not only able to subdue Santolo but Islam was also introduced and adopted as a court religion by the *Sarki*. Their leader was AbdulRahman Zaiti who preached Islam to the *Sarki* and commanded him to observe prayers. Gardamu was appointed *Imam*, Lawal Mandawari the *Muezzin*, who calls prayers, Auta slaughtered animals according to Islamic rite and Zaiti became the *Qadi* (i.e. judge).[50]

Mohammed Al-Hajj in his works, *asl-alwangariyin,* dated the arrival of the Wangarawa to the period of Rumfa. That might have been confused with Abdulrahman Jahanke another Wangara or Mende scholar whose arrival coincided with that of Al-Maghili. These earliest Wangarawa immigrants were associated with learning and scholarship and since then most of the areas they settled became established centers of Islamic learning and scholarship. The Wangarawa merchants and scholars from the fourteenth century established the settlements of Zaitawa (named after Abdulrahman Zaiti), Sanka, Madabo (a corruption of the word *Mu'addib* i.e. disciple), Mandawari (named after Lawal Mandaghari, the *Muezzin*), Sheshe (named after one of the wives of Zaiti), Salga, Koki, 'YanTandu, Jujin Yan-labu, Sanka, etc.[51]

The period of fifteenth century appeared to be the most important one in the social, political and economic history of Kano. During the reign of Dauda (1421-1438) up to the period of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499) Kano was at the peak of its

power when trade across the Sudan belt expanded more and Kano's economic and political prosperity continued to grow. It was also the period when more and more people came into Kano and settled permanently from all directions. The first recorded large scale movements of Bornoans into Kano was dated to the time of Sarkin Kano Dauda when a group of Kanuri immigrants arrived under the leadership of one Dagaci who, whether he was Mai Uthman bn Dawud (1421-1422) a deposed King of Bornu who was said to have died in Kano, or a prince and envoy of Bornu sovereignty over Kano, or even a night adventurer and conqueror, arrived with a large following consisting of scholars, slaves, horses,, guns and flags. [52)] For fear of his troops, the *Sarki* encamped him in Bompai area and later, transferred him to Dorayi, located in the southern outskirts of the city, where he was said to have amassed a great deal of fortune, accumulated a lot of wealth and built houses all the way from Dorayi to Salanta.[53] Since then, the Bornoans migrations into Kano continued throughout the subsequent centuries. In the 16th century groups of Bornoans arrived in Kano headed by Sheikhs Kursiki, Magume and Kubi. They were all jurists and Qur'anic scholars and were soon followed by other groups of migrant scholars and merchants during the reign of Sarki Kado (1565-1573) headed by Sheikhs Tama, Getso, and Wuri from both Borno and Bagirmi.[54] By the end of the 19th century, Kano also witnessed another large scale Bornu migrants fleeing Rabeh's sporadic attacks on their Kingdom. By the end of the 19th century Bornoans were found in all parts of *Kasar Kano* and they were said to have occupied the third position in population after the Hausa and Fulani. The Kanuris (Barebari) founded the wards of Goron Duma, Zangon Barebari, Gabari,

'Yan Doya, Bakin Zuwo and Dorayi. They were also known to have settled in large numbers in Zango, Chiromawa, Diso, Fage and Gyaranya.[56]

From the 15th century onwards, chains of slaves were imported into Kano especially during the reign of Abdullahi Burja mostly from the minority tribes of the Bauchi region, the upper Benue valleys and parts of central Africa.[57] They were continuously brought into Kano in hundreds and sometimes in thousands up to the end of the Fulani dynasty so that chains of 'slaves settlements' were said to have been established outside the first city wall before the extension and subsequent annexation of these slave settlements by Muhammad Rumfa into the city.[58] By the middle of the 19th century for instance, the population of slaves in Kano exceeded that of the freemen by 30:1.[59] By the same period, Barth estimated the population of Kano city at about 200,000 people with an equal number of slaves. By 1895, Monteil, a French explorer, asserted that about four-fifth of Kano population were slaves while Robinson who visited Kano shortly after the civil war in 1894 estimated the population of Kano city at 100,000 people, of which more than half were slaves.[60)] Even though these figures may not be regarded as representing the accurate population of Kano city, it nevertheless, indicated the level of slave importation as well as the dependency of the State economy on slave labour.[61] The wards they were settled include Indabawa, Kawo, Jarkasa, Shirawa and Dogarai. Some slaves were settled at agricultural estates (*Gandu*) of their masters.

The Tuaregs were also another economically important group of migrants who came to Kano through Gobir during the reign of Yakubu Dan Burja (1452—1463) bringing with

them commodities such as potash, salt, animals, dates and later livestock and copper from their mines in the Sahara which they exchanged with the dyed cloth and leather products of Kano.[62] Like most of the migrant groups, they too were economically motivated to settle in different regions of *Kasar Kano* and other parts of Hausaland. In fact, they were described as financiers, brokers, commercial agents and suppliers of different commercial goods through an elaborate network of trade routes.[63] Their migration into Kano continued throughout the 18th and 19th centuries and thus they occupied the third position in the population of Kano city.[65] Other settlements they established in Kano city include Agadasawa, Zango, Arzai, Dogon Nama and Rimin Abzinawa. They were also known to have settled in large numbers in Dala, Shatsari, Tudun Makera and Lokon Makera. In addition to these they had also established several colonies in other parts of *Kasar Kano* such as Bichi, Damargu, Yanbundu, Kura, Gezawa, Gwarzo and Bebeji. In fact, most of the farming population in Bichi were said to be of Tuareg origin.[66] Kuddudufawa and Mazankwarai were founded by the Mossi and Songhay peoples while Sarari and Durumin Arbabi were dominated by the Tokarawa and Agalawa.[67]

The Fulani migration from the Futas of the Sene-Gambian regions across the Savannah, and its impact on population movements, is fairly known to us. The first group of Fulani migrants into Kano was during the reign of Yakubu Dan Burja (1452-1463).[68] The numerous pastoral Fulani clans who arrived in Kano especially during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463–1499) brought along with them books of Islamic theology and Arabic grammar which supplemented the curriculum of education in Kano hitherto

restricted to the books of Quran, *Hadith* and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence).[69] By the first half of the sixteenth century, the Fulani became numerous in *Kasar Kano* their large- scale migrations into Kano took place in the eighteenth century including several waves of pastoralist and some wealthy families.[70] Those who arrived in the earliest times including the scholars settled mainly inside the city and were employed in the service of the State as judges, administrators and scribes due to their learning. A few others indulged in craft works and agriculture.[71] Those who arrived in the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, including the pastoralists, settled in the neighbouring outskirts and villages around Kano city while others established some sedentary communities so that by the nineteenth century they appeared to have out-numbered the original inhabitants of some of these settlements like Garko, Dal, Dambatta, Kazaure and Hotoro and in the *birni* several wards came to be identified with the numerous Fulani clans.[72] The Fulanis, mostly scholars, who arrived from the early period had settled in the wards of Cedi, Yola, Sharfadi, Dambazau and Daneji. After the Jihad, when the Fulani took over the city, the various victorious Fulani clans needed some sites for settlement and therefore, had to be settled in new areas since most of the areas between Dala and the Kurmi market had already been settled.[73] Sites were therefore allocated to the south of the ancient area of Dala and Kurmi market where they established the wards of Galadanci, Wudilawa, Tudun Wuzirci, Mundubawa, Kurawa and Ciranci which were very close to the emir's palace and which became predominantly Fulani areas (known as *Hayin Fulani*).[74] This area contained the aristocracy, the free and slave warrior nobilities (i.e. the *Cucanawa*), the judicial *ulama* and their

clients and slaves as opposed to the older Hausa northern section (known as Hayin Habe).[74]

The Arabs and other people of North African origin were also among the later immigrants who settled permanently in Kano for several centuries. The first of these recorded arrival of Arabs in Kano was during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa (1463- 1499) when in 1491, the most celebrated North African Muslim scholar and theologian, Abdulkarim al-Maghili of Tilemcen arrived in Kano after visiting Air and Takidda. Although the circumstances in which he left North Africa were not auspicious, but it is certain that after the attack on the Jews, he had to flee when another attack on the ruling Bani Wattah failed.[75] He wrote a copy of the Quran and a political treatise for the emir on how to rule according to *Shariah* and had also laid the foundation of Kano central mosque. Rumfa, in seeking to abide by the admonitions of the jurists, instituted a total of twelve innovations and reforms which had a profound impact on Kano's political history. The most profound effect of his commitments to Islamic policy was the attainment by Kano of the major characteristics of an Islamic sultanate. He instituted a council of State known as "*Tara ta Kano*" (Kano Council of Nine) composing of nine top military and administrative officials below the throne. Rumfa is said to have been the first *Sarki* to possess spare horses (*Dawakin Zag*e) when going to battle, the first to have '*Kakaki*' (long metal trumpet blown in honor of rulers), ostrich feather fans (*Figini*) and ostrich feather sandals as symbols of Royalty.[76]

Al-Maghili settled in Kano for two years but before his departure to Katsina; he was said to have given birth to three children (Mohammad Hamtari, Gaunu Dodo and Sidi Fari)

with a local woman whom he married and the children of these people came to be identified as Sharifai (the descendants of Almaghili)[77]

In the sixteenth century, during reign of Kisoke (1509-1565) a Tunisian Arab group headed by Sheikhs Batunashe, Dan Goron Duma, Kursiyyu and Abdulsalami arrived in Kano, bringing with them books of Islamic knowledge thereby broadening the curriculum of education in Kano.[78] By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their number became substantial in Kano city where they became closely associated with commercial activities and were said to have founded and inhabited several wards in Kano city such as Sharifai (named after the descendants of Al-Maghili), Dandalin Turawa, Sudawa (Shuwa Arabs), Jingau and Dukurawa (by Ghadames Arabs), Alfindiki (meaning hotel or a rest house of the Arabs) and Alkantara. They were also known to have settled in several wards like Cediya, Sheshe, Darma, Zaitawa, and Bakin Zuwo.[79]

By the end of the fifteenth century, Kano had already become a major center of international trade and commerce with large scale production in agriculture and craft manufactures chiefly for export. It had become the home of commercial classes from all corners of North Africa, the central Sahara and the western Sudan and had also laid the foundation for its intermediary role in the commerce between these regions especially with the establishment of Kano central market of Kurmi. Economically, this development was of tremendous advantage because the migrant groups brought with them new skills, new crafts, capital and wealth which increased the commercial and political prosperity of the State.[80] The increase in population of the city and its environs

called not only for the strengthening of its defenses but also for the extension of the wall. Kano's riches and prosperity during the time of Rumfa made it financially adequate to extend the wall not only to include the newly built central mosque and the palace but also to encompass all the adjacent settlements within the city boundary including all the neighbouring farmlands with the exception of Fage because the area was not permanently inhabited by people and it was the nearest grazing land to the city.[81] But nevertheless Fage provided the first positive focus to the East outside the city wall which tended to draw development to that side being a minor but positive center of influence.[82] Physical development outside the city wall is not therefore, a new phenomenon in the history of urbanization in Kano. Another typical example of such development to the south also was Dorayi, apart from Magwan and Bompai on the far east of the city. Fage being a terminal of trade routes that linked Kano with the outside world, the suburb served as a warehouse and lodge for traders. The few residents there also acted as brokers to the merchants. In fact Fage at that time was "just similar to the Burger settlements in the medieval cities of Europe which were also located just outside the city wall."[83]

The first mention of Fage town in the Kano Chronicle was in the 18th century when it was said that "on the occasion of a great solar eclipse during the reign of Sarkin Kano Kumbari (1731-1743), Mai Ali Dan Maji of Bornu had encamped right "inside Fage" for three days and threatened to burn the city of Kano unless his tributes were paid. A number of *Malams* monks) interceded in the year 1734 AD[84] and ended the siege. But the chronicler does not tell us whether the settlement in Fage by then was errantly inhabited by or still a

temporary rest-stop of the caravan traders. Moreover, the chronicler does not give us any information on the impact of Bornu occupation. Much more probable is that the permanent settlement in Fage began in the early 19th century after the Jihad resulting from the call made by Sarkin Kano Suleiman (1806-1819) to the trans-Saharan traders and merchants to relocate there owing to political stability which Kano had enjoyed after the Jihad.[85]

In view of Kano's early relations with the people of the mid-Niger regions, Kano's relations were extended to Nupe since the reign of Yakubu Dan Burja (1452-1463) when horses were sent to Nupe in exchange for eunuchs. By the late 18th and 19th centuries, some Nupe migrants especially from Bidda started to settle inside the city of Kano and founded the ward of Tudun Nufawa. They were also found in substantial numbers in Marmara, Madungurum, Darma, Bakin Ruwa and many other parts of the neighbouring villages such as Bebeji who specialized mainly in weaving and cloth production.[86]

The Yoruba migrant groups settled in Kano city since the seventeenth century and both the Yorubas and the Nupes, being great traders, linked Kano commercially with the markets of the middle Niger and the confluence regions to the south. The Yorubas established themselves particularly in Ayagi quarters inside the city.

The establishment of the caliphate in the early nineteenth century following the Islamic Revolution by Fulani Jihadists led not only to the transfer of power from the Habe after about eight hundred years rule to the Fulani, but also resulted in greater expansion of an Islamic state as well as the flourishing of economic activities which further led to the influx of more people into Kano largely owing to the political

stability that prevailed after the Jihad.[88] Since then, Kano became the center of commerce and industry. It was described as the "Manchester of central Sudan." Each traveler from 1824 up to the end of the 19th century returned to Europe to tell of the city's wealth, trade size and its manufactured items.

Spatial Growth and Settlement Patterns

These series of immigrations over several centuries resulted in the emergence of a complex society - the *Birnin Kano* or city of Kano - distinct from earlier types of settlements due to its cosmopolitan nature.

These migrant groups were, however, assimilated and subsequently integrated into the new socio-cultural system of the city which was largely based on "occupational" process rather than on "ethnic origins" so that from the 15th up to the nineteenth centuries, each ward (*Unguwa*) in Kano city came to be named or identified with "a famous person, a landmark or a topographical feature, a tribal group which dominates it, the occupational specialization of its inhabitants or even some epochal events associated with it."[93] Kano itself was later named after the great ancestor of the *Abagayawa* (a smither), Dala (named after the great hunter and the grandfather of Barbushe). Wards or settlements established during the period of Maguzawa were merely restricted to the Dala area and its vicinity such as Jakara, Gwauron Dutse, Kukar Tube, Darmanawa and Madatai apart from the already mentioned rocky areas. Wards established, probably during the early period of the Habe dynasty include Kutumbawa, Rimin Kira, Adakawa, Mazugal, Karofin Gangamau, Garke, Tuma, Kabuwaya, Karofin Kangiwa, Shatsari, Aikawa, Makwalla, Gangamau and Gwangwazo.

The Jukunawa (Kwararrafa people) founded the wards of Yakasai, Sagagi and Kofar Mata in the seventeenth century while the Katsinawa in the 18th and 19th centuries founded the wards of Kulkul (named after their leader Abdullahi Qul-Qul), Warure and Darma.[96]

Wards which were named after a famous person included Durumin Aje, Sharfadi, Durumin Iya, Durumin Zungura, Kabara (formerly Jarkasa), Tudun Wada, Malladan, Malam Ganari, Satatima. Juma, Shetima and Dandago. This also indicates the ethnic origins of their inhabitants.

Wards named after a landmark or the topography of the area are Bakin Ruwa, Mararraba, Mai Aduwa, Rijiya Biyu, Rijiya Hudu, Cediyar Fero, Kwarin Mabuga, Kurna, Makwarari, Cediyar Kuda, Kan Tudu, Sarari, Marmara, Zage, 'Yar Kasuwa, Magoga, Diso, Dausayi (now Gyaranya, Jarkasa (now Kabara) and Yalwa. Wards named after a tribal group include Hausawa, Madigawa, Garangamawa, Ciromawa, Aikawa, Daurawa, Kabawa and Sanka.

Wards named after the occupational groups include Dukawa, Takalmawa, Lokon Makera, Tudun Makera, Mabuga, Lallokin Lemo, Karofi or Kankarofi, Soron Dinki, 'Yan Awaki, 'Yan Muruci, Unguwar Gini, Cediyar 'Yan Gurasa and 'Yan Tandu.

Wards named after an epochal event include Dogon Nama, Magashi, Masukwani, Sabon Sara, Shinkafi, Kwalwa and Ciranci. But other wards were named after the thirteen gates of Kano city which were established near them between the 15th and 17th centuries such as Kofar Dan Agundi, Kofar Wambai, Kofar Na'isa, Kofar Kabuga and Kofar Ruwa. Although Kofar Dawanau and Kofar Waika were among the earliest gates, settlements began to develop around them by

the middle of the 20th century. The story is the same with Kofar Famfo and Sabuwar Kofa which came much later.

Most of these wards which were named according to a particular person, topography, epochal event or economic activity existed earlier as sub-wards with their distinctive occupational or ethnic characteristics which were of mixed and varying origins with the exception of some modern wards such as Gwammaja, Gwale, Kwalli, Sani Mai Nagge, Tal'udu, etc. These were the result of physical expansion and restructuring of urban Kano from the colonial period to date.

The process of assimilation of the migrant groups was linguistic as the Hausa language, which is the dominant language and easier to learn), religious Islam suppresses other distinctions), social concentration of settlements and activities in Kano), and manumission of the slaves to emancipate themselves and longer period of time."[101] These developments resulted in intermarriages among the various different tribal and ethnic groupings that made up the community and it is even believed that almost every person in Kano city today is of mixed progenial origin which eventually resulted in the development of an awareness of identity among the members of the society and hence the emergence of the concept of *Kanawa* (people of Kano) who gradually ceased to think of themselves as members of a particular ethnic group to which they bad originally belonged.

In the same way as others migrated to Kano the people of Kano also migrated for commercial purposes to places like the Volta regions - *gwanja* - and other parts of central Sudan.[103] Immigration into Kano and subsequent settlements of the various groups should not therefore, be viewed in ethnic terms. Although, the concept of *asali* (origin) is important for

understanding the nature of ethnic identity in Hausa society, origins are mostly resorted to for economic, social and political advantages. Those with highly prestigious origin such as the Fulani, the Kanuris and the Arabs have often retained their origins while those with vulgar backgrounds such as the Nupes, the Yorubas, the Tuaregs and the people of the middle Niger regions had adopted the wider Hausa ethnicity completely which is the dominant group. The tag *Kano tumbin giwa* (Kano the elephant's tummy) is apt.

This policy of tolerance and accommodation particularly on the part of the Kano rulers and the entire people in general had survived even the colonial period which led to the establishment of Township settlements such as Gwagwarwa (Brigade), Gama, Tudun Wada and Gawuna by other Hausa people of Northern Nigerian origin. They were all assimilated and integrated into the society of Kano as Kanawa with the exception of some other Township settlements such as Nasarawa, Lebanese quarters in Fage-ta-Kudu and Sabon Gari who, for religious and other cultural reasons maintain their ethnic identity.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

The *Sarauta* System in Kano 999 to Mid-18th Century: The Emergence of the State, the Development of Statehood and the Maturation of Statecraft

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Introduction

In the call for papers sent out, the organizers are clear in their intention. This is to be an "International Seminar on the History of Kano in the Second Millennium A.D." The emphasis is on State and Leadership. We acknowledge the legitimacy and indeed the need always to situate history in time and place. Otherwise incontrovertible archaeological evidence date human presence in the Kano area to "roughly three-and-a-half to five-and-a-half thousand years ago.[1] The delimiting of the period from 999 A.D. probably has to do with both the limitations of the historical method employed by Africanist historians of south of the Sahara and the nature of the materials they have to work with. Thus, in spite of the major strides achieved in developing their tools, Historians of Africa south of the Sahara are still unable to decipher the kind of situation prevalent in the Kano area prior to 999 A.D. though since then we are able to determine the major

structural components in the foundation and development of the communities cum societies of *Kasar Kano*.

The dual publications of a bibliography on Kano is a demonstration of the tremendous scholarly endeavors of all specializations on Kano.[2] This paper is, therefore, an attempt at synthesizing what we know of the *Sarauta*, an indigenous social formation evolved by the Hausa-speaking people from 999 AD to mid-18th Century. We take liberty that it is a synthesis of about 800 years of a very dynamic history would have been too much to grapple with in a single paper.

The Autochtones

The dating of human presence alluded to above, was obtained from shards of Karfi provenance. Rock shelter sites abound in *Kasar Kano* Birnin Kudu, Shike, Rano, Rurum).[3] From matanfada furnance and from fitola in Kazaure have evidence come of the transition to an iron using technology dated 1400 B.C.÷-850 and 2400B.C.+-1100 respectively.[4] Thus, while it is certain that there were autochthonous people in the Kano area, so have they been applying themselves on the environment. It is in this process that production capabilities were developed and institutions evolved over time, to organize for production, distribution, reproduction and the means of sustaining same on a qualitatively higher scale under more efficient organizational infrastructures. During this period also, the emergent community later developed into society and state) was, on a continuous basis, interacting with other communities. It is this double dialectic that. shaped Kano, *Kasar Kano* and the Kanawa. What has emerged is the *sarautar kasar Kano.*

The Beginnings to Sarki Tsamiya

Both historically and contemporaneously, Kano has been described as the melting-pot of the Sudan.[5] Three factors have remained constant in the history of Kano. These are the peopling of Kano which has not stopped till today); the favourable conditions natural resource base, the development of productive forces and dynamic production relations) and; the cosmology of the people. The favourable natural conditions in the Kano area attracted Bagauda and the hordes of others subsequently. The motive force of the history of the Kanawa is the *Sarauta*.

The most important single source for the historiographical endeavors on Kano has been the Kano Chronicle.[6] It has been of such importance that a historiography has developed around it.[7] The uniqueness of the Kano Chronicle has been accepted as axiomatic by historians.[8] The coming to light of new sources and the critical re-examination of some older ones have assailed but not undermined the significance of the Kano Chronicle. It is so unique that M. G. Smith considers it unreplaceble.[9]

The sources are agreed on the crucial role of migrations, hitherto assumed to have been from the Central Sudan area. Abdullahi Smith has put to rest this notion.[10] In localizing the early migrations, Murray Last has suggested that "new settlements are not created by immigrant settlers nor by local hunters deciding to stay put due to the development of their social system. Instead new settlements come into being as parts of an already complex political system and as a result of, say, demographic expansion, the search for better soil, or splits within the social fabric at the systems centre.[11] Coupled with these kinds of human movements, and in the process of

developing institutions cum organizations for the society's production, reproduction and distribution, was the development of authority. This is represented in the Chronicle with force as for example in "I am the heir of Dala, like it or not, follow me ye must, perforce"[12] This, the Wakar Bagauda[13] supports in referring to Bagauda as *mai tsarewa* (the protector). In conjunction with force, and underpinning it, is the cosmology developed by the people. Noted here is the fact that it is represented that Barbushe "succeeded his forefathers in the knowledge of the lore of Dala. By his wonders and sorceries and the power he gained over his brethren he became chief and lord over them."[14] The relative importance of each we cannot determine with precision. We can, however, infer that force and cosmology, subsequently transformed into authority pervade the early history of Kano. This attribute is represented in the Wakar Bagauda as "da hani da sawa" (the ability to prevent and enforce).

We are definite as to some of the kinds of economic activities engaged in by the people of *Kasar Kano*. The antiquity of iron working has been brought to the fore by archaeological evidence. Similarly, remains in rock shelters and settlement sites point to early activities hunting and gathering?

The nature, extent and forms the development of the family took in these early years we may never know. Though rudiments of organizations are suggested, the emphasis was on the nature of economic activities associated with or under the purview of groups. The Chronicle listed the leaders of the blacksmiths, brewers (medicine men?), watchmen, youth, musicians, dancers, miners, archers and aquatic activities. This has led Yusuf Bala Usman to assert that "if budding political

authority involves the control over basic resources and the sanction of the use of force, then even before the *Sarauta* it was not in the hands of the *masu gidaje*. It might be found that it was in the hands of those individuals who were engaged in those activities most critical for the generation of surplus created by the unit.[15] Though Palmer uses the word clan and Dokaji uses *kabilu* tribes) to denote these groups, we can hardly be definite of this aspect of the organizational basis of these early groups.[16] However, provenance is clearly identified: Gwauron Dutse, Jigirya, Magwan, Tanagar, Fanisau, Dan bakoshi and Dan-kwai are some of the places mentioned.

The State

Conceptually, the state as a complex of specific mechanism of government[17] may be regarded as "a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign."[18] The institutional features of the state are organized police power, defined spatial boundaries, or a formal judiciary.[19] Whatever the institutional underpinnings, to the Marxist the state is an expression of class domination, it is "the precipitate of the social organization of the economy at a particular level of productive and distributive efficiency."[20] It is thus recognized that the use of its power to maintain a specific social order is one of the primary aspects of the state.

Scholars of Kano are agreed that the chronology as recorded in the Kano Chronicle is fairly accurate.[21] The schemata follows the reigns of the *Sarakuna*.[22] Major developments are thus located in a particular Sarki's reign. The dynamics are presented as the unfolding of the

contradictions between Barbushe and his chiefs representing the autochtones, and Bagauda representing and leading the immigrant groups. There is no doubt that there were nucleated but dispersed settlements as mentioned above.[23] It is also clear that some kind of authority structure had developed in the different settlements.

That the settlement at the base of Dala was attaining primacy is suggested by the annual pilgrimage to Tsumburbura under the custodianship of Barbushe. By the turn of the millennium Bagauda seemed to have attained the status of *primus inter pares*, but as yet no centralized and recognized system had emerged. Thus the second *Sarki* was described as in conjunction with his associates, *makusantansa*.[24] The need for a centralized and recognized authority can be assumed to be there. It was this need that Bagauda can be assumed to have set in motion the process that would ultimately lead to its fulfillment: the emergence of the state. By Bagauda's emergence the struggle to bring the other, and probably older settlements, under one authority had begun.

Thus at the historical juncture of Barbushe/Bagauda, the situation in the Kano area may be surmised as having consisted of localized entities engaged in different kinds of production activities, situated in specific though miniature territories, under leaders supervising or coordinating these production activities and often doubling as the custodians of the different religious systems they practiced. Different cults obtained to which allegiance was owed and to which ones fate was entrusted. The nature of the religious activities may be assumed to regulate the basis of their interaction amongst themselves and between them and nature, of which we may reasonably assume their understanding and therefore ability

to harness was at a rudimentary level. Bagauda's emergence may thus represent an expansion in both scale and intensity of interaction between the settlements which may have been kindred groups.[25]

Subsequent developments were struggles to achieve a more rational basis of interaction as a response to an unfolding but increasingly more complex reality. The localized cults, probably associated with specific and different vocations have thus to be transcended. The scenario thus described, it is important to emphasize was at a very micro level. [26] This situation was what Abdullahi Smith characterized as of "changing pattern of socio-political grouping, and with the various cultural factors economic, religious, etc, which gave rise to it."[27] It was this process that led to the emergence of the great *Birane* in Hausaland. It was in this process, suggested Abdullahi Smith, from whence we are to seek the emergence of the state in Hausaland. It was a revolution which "may perhaps be described as the replacement throughout the greater part of Hausaland of a political system in which authority was based on kingship relations, by one in which authority was based on control of territory, accompanied by the replacement of a very large number of very small and mutually independent political units by a much smaller number of large units possessing institutions of a centralized character."[28]

From this process emerged a leader of a heterogeneous and cosmopolitan community, with centralized structures of administration, laying effective claims to a specific territory and possessing of authority to regulate the affairs of the citizenry. Once this situation was obtained we can assert that the society has undergone a transformation from a stateless

one to statehood. In Hausaland this has been posited to have been closely associated with the emergence of the *birane* as centers of political power.

The Statehood

Though the emergent system was assumed to have coalesced into a dynasty as implied by the alleged father-to-son succession right from Bagauda, we are intimated of the fact that even at that juncture the running of the affairs of this increasingly heterogeneous group was a collective responsibility. Bagauda was not, at the onset, able to overcome the indigenous leaders he met *in situ*. It is reasonable to assume some kind of responsibility cum duty sharing was evolved. These related to organizational frameworks in two facets of life: security and production.[29]

Thus, by the beginning of our period major facets of life undergoing revolutionary changes included urbanization, exchange implying developments in manufacture and agriculture), societal order the budding state), and cosmology. At this early stage religion was the basis on which legitimacy was being built around. The Chronicler underlines this for the second Sarki, Warisi (ca.1063-1095) when he declared "O sarki of this land, if you wish to govern it, east and west and south and north, keep close to Garazawa, since it is the key of the country, and has not a strong god."[30] That the control of resources was crucial even at this stage was pointed out to the same Sarki in the advice to "beguile the chiefs with gifts …"[31] In subsequent reigns as enunciated in the *Wakar Bagauda*, *baiwa* is a positive attribute of the *Sarauta*.[32] Indeed the third Sarki, Gajimasu (ca. 1095 - 1134) was to deftly employ both force and beguile in the process of consolidating and

continuing the development of the state physically, territorially and institutionally. Physically, he was the one who initiated the construction of a *rariya*[33] usually taken to mean some defensive structure.[34] Territorially, the expansion has now gone beyond the immediate neighborhood to other settlements: Gano, Dab, Debbi, Ringim and Dan Bakonyaki. Institutionally, not only have the towns mentioned had their own *sarakuna*, but the group that was to develop into the nobility had emerged. Though clear delineation of responsibilities are not discernable, however, these officers, the Buram, Isa, Babba, Kudududufi and Akasam developed into offices of state and some remained as titles to date. They are the *Dan Buram*, *Dan Isa* and *Dan Babba*. The *Dan Akasam* and *Dan Kudududufi* having lapsed.

By the ascension of the fifth Sarki, Tsaraki (ca. 1136-1194), the tradition of father to son succession had been broken. The development of the state institutionally continued bringing to the fore the politico-economic nature entailed. The other towns by now had to acknowledge Kano's suzerainty by the payment of tribute. This was going on simultaneously with the enhancement of military capability by innovations, a feature that was to become a permanent aspect of the *Sarauta*. By this time shields have been introduced. The sixth Sarki, Naguji (ca.1194-1247), continued the politico-economic development by the institution a "land tax of one- eighth of the crop from all husbandsmen."[35] Thus by this time in Kano a central institution had emerged exercising sovereignty over the land and people. Equally important is the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Kano by the acceptance or the capability to enforce the payment of tribute and taxes. This seemed to have been achieved only under Sarki Bugaiya

(ca. 1385-1390) with regular payment of tribute. The regulation of economic activities which has its origin under the leaders of the different occupations has thus been brought under the purview of a central authority. Kano town, now walled, has emerged as the capital city.[36]

The Development of Statecraft

Up till now no acceptable ideological basis has been developed. The unfolding contradictions emanating from the practices associated with a multiplicity of deities was to continue under the seventh and eighth Sarakuna. Indeed this seemed the reason why power slipped away from Sarki Guguwa (ca, 1247 1290). Two developments under the ninth Sarki, Tsamiya (ca. 1307 - 1343), were to underscore the relationship between the control of these cults and the control of resources. An attempt was made to introduce a new religious dispensation, the Tsibiri. The destruction of *Tsumburbura*, it has been suggested, freed Sarki Tsamiya from the control exercised by the religious practices, prophecies and omens that had hitherto controlled his movements.[37] The group that resisted the introduction of the *Tsibiri* was made to pay the *jizya*.[38]

Considerable dynamism characterized the thirty-seven year reign of Sarki Tsamiya, considered by some as the first real Sarki. Once he overcame *Tsumburbura*, he introduced two practices that were subsequently to become hallmarks of the *Sarauta*. The first was the creation of new offices obviously to satisfy the yearning of a new situation. Important however, at this instance, is the fact that the officers were neither members of the royalty nor nobility. The officers emerged based on their role in the ideological contestations, the search for an

acceptable ideology. The offices were, however, not necessarily religion based. Two of the priest chiefs were subsequently appointed by him as *Sarkin Garazawa* and *Sarkin Tsibiri*. This process of cooption was to become a permanent feature of the *Sarauta*. Sarki Tsamiya was killed by his brother, Sarki Usmanu (ca. 1343-1349) appropriately nicknamed *zamnagawa*, who continued with territorial consolidation of the state by his ability to effect the submission of the Rumawa. Sarki Usmanu assigned his children offices of state. The second practice introduced by Sarki Tsamiya was the long horns, marking the crystallization of royalty. His praises were song thus: "stand firm, Kano is your city."[40] Praise singing and its many variants was to become very important acculturation process of the *Sarauta* system.[41]

As will be demonstrated, the reign of the eleventh Sarki, Yaji (ca. 1349-1385) easily marked a watershed in the Hausa period[42] of Kano history. Notable developments henceforth were to continue unfolding till the apogee of Hausa Kano under Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa (ca. 1463-1499). The process involved the drive towards a more rational and systematized basis of regulating interaction in the society which continued under the rubric of religious contestation for supremacy. The international relationships, which Kano came to develop, were to expose it to the influence of Islam which has been filtering into the society. The arrival of the Wangarawa was to make the religion of Islam achieve supremacy. Marking a definite boost in the economy, the kind of changes wrought was indicative of an increasingly complex society in search of cohesion and an acceptable and viable method of regulating interaction. The more general and readily observable common religious rituals which were to

assume popular cultural mores of burials and slaughtering of animals apart, the importance of the introduction of the institution of *Alkali* (Judge) can hardly be over emphasized.[43] The and *Sharia* and *sunnah* would be accepted at least by the rulers, as the basis on which the conduct of the society would be based. Equally important was the budding role that the particular "kind" of Islam introduced was to have on the cosmology of the people. Both in the contestation for supremacy with the traditional religions it met and also in warfare as believed to have occurred in the encounter with the hitherto insurmountable Santolo), prayers by the purveyors cum custodians of the new religious dispensation which was on the ascendancy, were believed to have been efficacious. Henceforth, prayers in form of seeking supernatural intercession, in the various forms and means it assumed, was to become a key underpinning of the *Sarauta* permeating all aspects of life. Incorporating the budding intelligentsia into the ruling class commenced immediately with the grants of land and conferment of offices. They started innocuously enough as just leaders of the compulsory five daily prayers and teachers of other religious laws. Their role was to latter pervade all aspects of life.

In warfare, continual innovation noted earlier had by now become a bulwark of the *Sarauta*. Horses have now become an instrument of war. During the reign of Sarki Kanajeji (ca. 1390-1410) protective quilt trappings for cavalry, chain mails and metal helmets were introduced. Also by this time the scale of war had extended, and we hear of engagements with Zazzau and Kwararrafa. The *Kasar Kano* having expanded to become contiguous with other societies at a comparative level of development was now ranged against

them in a struggle for supremacy. This was to become a dominant theme from hence until the jihad. The dimensions which the changed nature of warfare issued forth were to continue to bolster the role of the war chiefs throughout this period. Valor in warfare was to become an avenue for upward mobility in the emergent *Sarauta* system. The support given by the *Sarakuna* of Dab, Debbi and Gano further enhanced the consolidation of the Kanawa identity. To further solidify this emergent identity the *Sarki* married the daughters of the Sarakuna of Dutse, Shira and Rano. The Galadima who had so proved himself in the campaigns he waged in the south on behalf of the Sarki was given the territory to administer, and his daughter too, was married to the Sarki. Henceforth this kind of marriages became an important cultural practice employed in cooption, controlling or neutralizing opposition, potential or real.

Other very basic developments were taking place in the society apace. The internationalization of relations was to absorb Kano into the wider African cultural milieu. The cultural impact of the arrival of the Wangarawa has been mentioned. During Sarki Dauda (ca. 1421-1438), another group arrived, this time from Borno, led by a certain Dagaci. They were to leave an indelible mark on the society. His group consisted of *ulama* and warriors. They are credited with having introduced trumpets and guns. While trumpets are instruments employed in entertainment and acculturation, thus boosting royalty, guns had a serious impact on military technology and the balance of forces in the society and between Kano society and others. Economically it was the Dagachi who was credited with establishing Karabka market. Trade flourished between the home states of these immigrants

and Kano. There was a boost in the trading relationship between Kano and Borno. Products of the south via Nupeland and Zazzau, flooded Kano market. Eunuchs to become very important personages in the structure of government were obtained from Nupeland.

Prosperity continued under Sarki Abdullahi Burja (ca. 1438-1452) when the trading relations extended to Gwanja. During Sarki Yakubu (ca. 1452-1463) there continued the intellectual and cultural ferment. This was further enriched with the influx of the Fulani "bringing with them books on divinity and etymology."[44] A decisive shift was imminent in the role of the *ulama*. Other groups that arrived were Asbinawa, Arabs and Gwanjawa. The climax was the arrival of Sheikh Mohammad b. Abdulkarim al-Maghli, during the reign of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa (ca. 1463-1499).[45]

Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa and Islam: The Sarauta Comes of Age

The apogee of Hausa Kano was attained in the reign of Sarki Rumfa whom the chronicler asserted "can have no equal in might from the time of the founding of Kano until it shall end."[46] This is concurred to by the author of *Kano ta Dabo Cigari* when he posited that Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa rejuvenated the kingship and gave it enduring structures and practices which are its hallmark till today.[47] The more notable of his innovations are the building of the palace *Gidan Rumfa*); the expansion of the city; the establishment of the Kurmi market; the introduction of reserve cavalry; the institution of the council of state; the development of the bureaucracy; the introduction of new medicines and; measures to further boost royalty.

It is no doubt a measure of both the scale and grandeur of the *Gidan Rumfa* that conceptually and physically it is assumed to be the most monumental Gida in Kano till today.[48] *Gidan Rumfa* is the palace of the *Sarkin Kano*, built in the fifteenth century by the Sarki whose name it bears. It houses the Sarki, his immediate family and the domestic hands. Equally important, it houses the offices of the Sarki and part of the bureaucracy that conducts the *Fada*. The Fada being the situation when the Sarki sits on the *karaga* throne) in the audience chamber attended by his councilors and conducts the affairs of state. It has been suggested that the *Gidan Rumfa* was built to divorce and shield it from the un-Islamic practices prevalent in the old palace in Madabo quarters. Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa has of course been acclaimed as the first Kano ruler to systematically apply himself to governing a multi-religious society. The shape, alignment and placement of the suburb were innovative spatially and reflected the heightened effects of Islam and Islamic clergy upon the rulers.[49]

The *Gidan Rumfa* was also an arsenal. It was crucial in establishing Kano as the locus of a larger regional polity and in so doing also weakened the *sarakunan garuruwa* smaller chiefdoms).[50] In the Jafi, a martial ceremony conducted a day after sallah, the emphasis was on the title holders and the slaves re-confirming their loyalty and allegiance to the *Sarki*. The *Gidan Rumfa* provided a spatial focus for political activities that seemed to have shifted between centers located further east. Murray Last is of the opinion that hitherto the rulers of Kano had multiple capitals.[51] Rooting the state to one place facilitated the development of an elaborate political culture. It became the focal point of all political and social

activities of *Kasar Kano*. The spatiality of the palace though was in many ways congruent with that of vernacular households and reflected the hegemonic influence of the *Sarauta*.

A critical development at the level of governance and the institution of statecraft was the establishment of *tara-ta-kano,* the council of state, composed of the *Galadima*, *Madaki*, Wambai, *Makama*, *Sarkin Jarumai*, *Sarkin Bai*, *Barde*, *Sarkin Dawakin Tsakar Gida* and *Turaki*.[52] These comprised of the royals, nobles, coopted war chiefs and some of the eunuchs of state. It emerged as the highest council of state whose function included the selection and appointment of the *Sarki*.[53] It was definitely a measure of the coalescing of interests of the other strata of the *sarakuna*. Some occupants of the offices of *Galadima, Madawaki,* and *Ciroma* had developed into powerful warlords. Complex developments subsequent on the dynamism of the period led to the creation of a bureaucracy. It was both a reflection of the need of the society as it was a deft move by the *Sarki* to, while curtailing but not countermining the role and influence of the other stratum of the nobility and the war chiefs, boost his own power. We would recall that first there were independent but nucleated principalities. Subsequent development led to the phase we had described as when the "lord" of the principality of Dala emerged as the *primu inter pares*. Later the other 'lords' lost out and emerged as territorial chiefs, but no longer independent since they had to pay tribute to Kano. It was in this process of subsuming the other 'lords' that a section of the nobility emerged as powerful warlords.[54] These did not need to have any consanguineous relationship with the 'lord' of Dala. Increasing complexity now brought forth the appointment of eunuchs into offices of

state. In an emerging *Sarauta* system underscored by patriarchal heredity, this innovation must have been revolutionary. For as slaves their interest must be "identical" to the *Sarki*'s. As eunuchs their ambition must be very limited, a logical and natural consequence of the inability to sire heirs.

Worthy of note in the emergent system was the fact that the *Sarki* had never been constrained by father-to-son succession in the appointment to offices.[55] Indeed promotion, demotion and cooption into the higher strata of the *Sarakuna* developed early. Note *Sarki* offices created by Sarki Kutumbi are *Sarkin Dogarai*, *Sarkin Shamaki* and *Barde Kerarriya*. These offices had serious organizational implications for the *Sarauta*. The *Dogarai* were to become the police force with all its implications for ordering society. They policed the *birni*, imposed and executed royal commands and demands, apprehended criminals and guarded the *Sarki* and enforced deference to his person and status. A major stride was further taken in administration by the move to integrate the urban and rural economies and creating a united and more centrally controlled state.

> With Kano no longer such a centre of international trade compared, to say Borno)…with the Wangara commercial network in disarray after Songhay's collapse, with royal profits from military campaigns seemingly uncertain but clearly insufficient to compensate for the loss of merchant revenue, state financing increasingly depended on rural production of crop and craft work - notably in the form of cotton, indigo and finished cloth.[72]

It was thus imperative for a more efficient administrative system to be put in place. New administrative centers were set up under the direct nominees of the *Sarki*. The wars of Sarki

Sharefa, Sarki Kumbari and Sarki Kabe epitomize the situation. The new administrative measures took the form of tighter control and assumed a more efficient appropriation of surplus. Sarki Sharefa (ca. 1703-1731) was to introduce seven practices "all of which were robbery".

He invented many other methods of extortion."[73] His son and successor, Sarki Kumbari (ca. 1731-1743), the chronicler asserts, nearly killed the Kurmi market, and even the *malamai* scholars) were forced to pay *Jizya*.[74] His own son and successor, Sarki Alhaji Kabe (ca. 1743-1753) was described as "of many wars and terrible."[75] Sarki Babba Zaki (ca. 1768-1776) was to employ his body guards of musketeers to further curb the powers of the *sarakuna* and head slaves, a problem that has been recurrent since the time of Sarki Muhammad Nazaki (ca. 1618-1623). Tighter administrative control empowered the *Sarki*.

Two developments worthy of note in this period were the walling of some old settlements on the eastern frontier: Gaya, Takai, Tsakuwa, Rano, Dawakin Kudu and many others.[76] The Sarki's representative was sent to Aujara, after killing the Sarki of Gaya. Also completely new towns were set up "… often built in the open plain a few miles of an ancient hill settlement and so controlled both the hills men and the access to the main river nearby - a good example of such a site is Barkum. In some other cases, such as Dala, the new rectangular town was built within the hills yet in a more open space away from the earlier settlement. Some of the new towns were sited at strategic point, to cover river crossings for example. One such town is Sheme, which guards the road to Katsina, covers the ancient hill settlement at Gabosani nearby and controls a major crossing point across the river Gari

whose swampy valley further downstream was Tsamiya's creation and appointments *sarakunan tsibiri and garazawa*); Sarki Yaji's appointments of *Galadima* and *Madawaki*; Sarki Yakubu's reshuflement (1452-1463) ; Sarki Abdullahi Rumfa appointing a slave of his, *Dagaci*.[56] Sarki Kisoke's appointment of a Borno person as an *alkali*. With the emergence of what were to become purely departmental functionaries *Ma'aji treasurer), Sarkin Bai head of the royal slaves), Sarkin Kofa City Gate Keepers*),[57] under the eunuchs, the balance of power had now shifted decisively in favour of the Sarki. Thus despite the frequency of international conflicts, it was generally a stable and flourishing period that Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa ushered in. It was marked by an influx of *malamai* and *dalibai* scholars and students) and mercantilism blossomed. From ca. 1452 to 1565 there were five consecutive father-to-son succession and Sarki Kisoke alone ruled for fifty eight years. The period was definitely dynamic and the leadership stable.

The wars that followed this period have often been characterized as internecine. It seemed the states that emerged in Hausaland and which were contiguous had each reached the limit to which they could aggrandize territory. It was a period of overlapping imperialism.[58] The influx of merchants, craftsmen and the intelligentsia was to usher in a radical redefinition of the basis of authority and of interaction. This was provided by Islam. Islam clearly predated Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa. His reign though marked its acceptance definitively by the state as the basis of organization. The role of the *Sheikhs* leaders of thought) in this period was significant in articulating the philosophical basis on which the *Sarakuna* embarked on a series of administrative changes designed to rejuvenate and ultimately strengthen the *Sarauta*.[59]

The stability following the revolutionary era of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa was to end with Sarki Kisoke's reign. Sarki Kisoke (ca. 1509-1565) we are told '. . . ruled overall Hausaland, east and west, south and north." In his time the *ulama* scholars) continued to flock to Kano. The next four successive *Sarakuna* though, were all deposed. Indeed there was civil war in 1565 engineered by two rival factions - Guli, a maternal uncle of Sarki Kisoke and Galadima a noble. During the reign of the aged[60] and pious Sarki Abubakar Kado (ca. 1565-1573), the Katsinawa worsted Kano.[61] Degeneration of administration was to characterize most of the rest of the era. By the time of Sarki Shashere (ca. 1573- 1582) officers of state had accumulated considerable fortune. In the l580s, the country experienced a severe epidemic followed by an eleven year famine.[62] It. was a period of low ebb in the affairs of Kano. The Katsinawa and the Jukunawa were un relenting in their attacks.[63] Sarki Muhammadu Zaki (ca. 1582-1618) lost his life fighting the Katsinawa. The conflict raged on during the reign of his son and successor Muhammadu Nazaki (ca. 1618-623). This was to last till 1671 when the Jukun of Kwararrafa launched a severe attack. It was so severe that "all the forces of Kano - physical and spiritual, Islamic and traditional - were thrown into the struggle. The old gods, tsibiri and bundun, were revived, the *malams* came out in full strength, the soldiers put up a valiant resistance, all was to no avail."[64]

It has been posited that a phenomenon of Kano's development during the seventeenth century was the rise of over mighty subjects, mostly military chieftains: Wambai Abdullahi, Dawaki Kwashi, Bako b. Kutumbi, Kalina Atuman, Turaki Kuka Allandayi, Sarkin Dawaki Magara, etc.[65] From a recorded number of eight war captains under Sarki

Muhammadu Kisoke (ca. 1582-1618) the number had climbed to fifty-two by the mid- eighteenth century.[66] Kano's military predicament facilitated the surge of "the top echelons of the military hierarchy into unprecedented peaks of power which led them to dominate the political life of the state."[67] Though Borno was a major source of trouble in addition to the Kwararrafa, what preoccupied Kano was the military effectiveness of Katsina. The numerous crises and the depositions entailed led to a large number of eunuchs being appointed to offices of state. Increasing recourse was also made to the scholars whom Last described as "the sultan's only resource now, not as combatants but as men of prayers and influence."[68] Last continued:

> The chief area of contention was south-western Kano and southern Katsina ... it was partly the failure of the last Gidan Rumfa Sultans to control this disputed region that led to the Kutumbawa dynasty replacing them; partly too, the collapse of Songhay and the commercial network associated with it, thus affecting royal finances and the sultan's ability to reward loyalty or mount expeditions. Perhaps most important of all was the inability of the Sultans and their scholar advisers to command a personal loyalty: for the dynasty at least in the west, had no traditional power base of its own - yet it was in the west, where the scholars had their estates, that the battles had to be fought.[69]

The Kutumbawa Dynasty

The ascendance of Sarki Kutumbi (ca. 1623-1648) a.k.a. Mohamman Alwali, often styled a great Sarki, marked another watershed in the development and functioning of the *Sarauta* in Kano. Last, who considered it the ascendance of another

dynasty, considered the demise of Rumfa's as the passing away of a military era. Kutumbi's period was said to have ushered in a revolution in military structure, political organization and personnel.[70] Notable among the achievements of Kutumbi are the establishment of forts in the countryside "in places where the increasing numbers of horses could be watered and fed together at the start and end of a campaign, for mustering the new style large "National" armies took time."[71] He also created a new corps of young slaves, the *kirdi*. Organizationally, a two-forked development commenced in governance and administration and in the economy. He sought to curb the powers and influence of the war lords. Thus, he took away Kofar Kabuga from Madaki Allandayi; dealt with Dawaki Magara who had settled in "Bauchi," and deposed Sarkin Surdi. He was also able to get the Gwandara to emigrate from Kano. On the other hand he imposed "*jizya*" on Bauchi and made the Fulani whom by now were numerous to pay *Jangali* and created the office of Sarkin Shanu. Other communities came into contact with one another. An ethos defining their interaction was evolved. With specific locations attaining pre-eminence due to several factors), the economy becoming more complex and the society more cosmopolitan, institutions of a centralized nature developed in the emergent *birane* Santolo, Dala, Fagwai), under a leader who exercised authority. These developed into Rano, Gano and Kano. Kano later achieved prominence.

The polity that emerged was attendant by a particular kind of statehood that may be termed *Sarautar Kasar Kano*, with the leader that epitomizes the hegemonic culture defining its operationalization being the *Sarkin Kano*. The dynamics which were to become crucial elements in the

system and process started rearing their heads early. Though to coalesce into a dynasty, the *Sarauta* system was based on the collective responsibility of the Sarakuna. Legitimacy was ultimately linked with the religious dispensation, power closely linked to resource control. This was to continue throughout our period in the development of the state and statehood, physically, institutionally and organizationally - the development of Birnin Kano, the subduing of territories and the emergence of the nucleus of the nobility. Acceptance of Kano's suzerainty was an important milestone in the development of the state, so was the capability of the *Sarakunan Kano* to exercise sovereignty. These were manifested in the payment of tribute and enforcement of taxation. These had been attained by the time of Sarki Naguji (ca. 1194-1247). In the organizational pattern that emerged, some traits were to become sources of strength. Cooption into offices due to collaboration, valor or other special attributes was to become the case from the time of Sarki Yaji (ca. 1349-1385) with the arrival of the Wangarawa who brought literacy and an alternative organizational system. This, fully exploited under Sarki Rumfa, drew Kano into the international world of Islam with all the consequences entailed - politically and especially organizationally), economically and culturally. Incorporating the children of the *Sarakuna* into the administration developed from the time of Sarki Usmanu (ca. 1343-1349) so also 'cabinet' reshuflement.

Continuous economic development was an important driving force of the *Sarauta*. The development of productive forces in conjunction with appropriate social relations in production characterized the *Sarauta*. From hunters and gatherers, there emerged a community of farmers and

craftsmen with concomitant exchange relations. By Kano's ascendancy under Sarki Rumfa it was expropriating surplus from societies less developed. This was to later mature into a sophisticated mercantilist system that linked Kano with all kinds of societies, from the highly developed to the primitive, from the fifteenth century. The span extended in the west to Gwanja, in the north-east to Borno and in the north to Songhai.. To the south it is linked to Nupeland through Zaria. Further radical changes in the society occurred under the Kutumbawa dynasty in the seventeenth century.

> Military innovation in relation to, and apace with, the developments, evidently a major obstacle in the past, and formed a natural frontier for the north of Kano.[77]

Officials were sent in to administer these new towns which "were not so much centers of population as administrative centers, collecting tax and organizing cheap manpower for the army and for public works."[78] That was the situation by mid-eighteenth century.

Slavery

Slavery developed as an indelible feature of the *Sarauta* and became a crucial underpinning. Slaves were acquired through kidnapping, raiding, booty and trade. Slavery under the *Sarauta* is not easily amenable to categorization to fit into the classical models. Just as there were slaves engaged in all kinds of labor-intensive activities and menial jobs, and subjected to all the indignities that their servile status entailed, so there were royal slaves who belonged to the governing strata. By the end of our period some had attained the ranks of

Hakimai (Governors), and were in the council of state, and commanding units of the army. Note that Sarki Kutumbi created a wholly slave unit in the army. There were slave settlements devoted solely to production on farms. The most remembered, because of its sheer scale, was during the reign of Sarki Abdullahi Burja in the fifteenth century when Galadima Daudu was said to have, for the Sarki's convenience, established numerous slave settlements.[79] Indeed by the time of Sarki Kisoke, Mai Daki Hawwa, the widow of Sarki Rumfa, was said to have established a slave market in Kano.[80] They have by this time become regular articles of trade with Gwanja. To the north they were exchanged for horses. Earlier Sarki Kanajeji had used slaves in paying tribute to Borno. We have mentioned above that Sarki Abdullahi b. Rumfa appointed a slave of his, *dagachi* village-head), following the footsteps of his father who first made them officers of state.[81] As far back as anybody could remember, female slaves have always been the source of concubines. Other female slaves who were not concubines performed important domestic chores. This included fostering children. By the end of our period, with the exception of the *ulama* Islamic scholars) group role, there was not any sector of life where slaves were not significant players. Elaborate acculturation processes were evolved to integrate the slaves in to the society.

Summary and Conclusion

While agreeing with Last that the records of Kano history before 1450 as recorded in the Kano Chronicle are essentially legendary, we can still surmise that both institutionally and conceptually, the process of the emergence

of the state was of such importance that it pervaded the Chronicle. There does not seem to be, and nor does it seem possible to have, a neat divide between the emergence of the institution of state and the concept of statehood. They are co-extensive.

In the Kano area, localized and independent centers of habitation, where institutions developed in regulating the use of resources and subscribing to specific cults, were in place by ca. 999. This was another feature of the *Sarauta*. The nature of warfare in the early period can only be a matter of conjecture. But by the introduction of shields and horses, the nature and extent of warfare had changed. Other developments were heavy and light cavalry, and later, muskets. The nature and role of the military has always had a close relationship with the development of the administration, especially territorial administration.

The introduction of Islam into Kano deserves a special attention. Though the changes brought about under Sarki Rumfa represented a higher level of the coalescing of class rule, it was one that was cultured in all aspects by Islam. There was no facet of life that Islam did not radically affect - from the location and construction of the palace to the development of the council of state and bureaucracy, medicine, commerce and the military. The particular shade of Islam introduced with its belief in the ability to manipulate the supernatural was to become a decisive cultural phenomenon. Islam, whatever the limitations in the adherence to its basic tenets at that stage, was truly a way of life. Al-Maghili actually wrote a treatise on government for Kano.

Important changes were to be ushered in under the Kutumbawa Dynasty, but the basic cultural components had

been established by Sarki Rumfa's time. There were significant changes in the military, political organizations, the economy and even personnel, but the basic cultural values remained. If anything the maturity of the intelligentsia by the eighteenth century meant the initiation of the rejuvenation of the system which they had accepted as their way of life. By Sarki Rumfa it was the Sarakuna who were trying to organize society, from the top, and at their convenience, and to their advantage based on some tenets of Islam. By the eighteenth century it was another segment of society, a crucial segment that by then influenced all aspects of life that was to lead the populace in demanding that society must be organized in a particular way.

The *Sarauta* in Kano is thus the institutional and organizational system, imbued with certain cultural practices that was evolved by the Kanawa over the centuries as the basis on which their society was organized. At the pinnacle of this hegemonic system was the *Sarki* who embodied the sovereignty of the system. Under the *Sarki* is a coterie of *Sarakuna*: the *sarakunan garuruwa* chiefdoms), the nobility cum war lords, and the slave chieftains. The basis of the power of the different categories of the *sarakuna* varies. The nobility developed from amongst the leaders that emerged at the advent of the state. The warlords emerged during the period of Kano's ascendancy and the consolidation of her territory. There were the sarakuna of the garuruwa which Kano annexed. The balance of power between these groups and the Sarki varied over the centuries.

A category of the sarakuna whose significance faded with time was the religious leaders, the custodians of the cults. Evidence points to collaboration between the political and religious authorities in the exercise of power. This seemed to

have lasted till Sarki Tsamiya (ca. 1307-1343). Another group of the sarakuna whose role became nebulous over time was the craft leaders. It would seem the main stay of the economy from about the time of Sarki Kanajeji (ca.1390-1410) to the emergence of the Kutumbawa dynasty was warfare and mercantilism. The significance of this was clearly brought out during Sarki Shashere (ca. 1573-1582) who requested for an *Alkali* Judge) to accompany him to war, ostensibly to effect the sharing of booty according to the *Sharia*. Emphasis on local production was to become a significant feature of the Kutumbawa period.

A category of the sarakuna that emerged during Sarki Rumfa was the departmental heads, and significantly most were eunuchs. They were placed in charge of the treasury, the administration of the *birni* and the palace, the maintenance of communication between the central administration and the *sarakunan garuruwa* and the maintenance of general security. By this time class rule had coalesced. By this time the *ulama* had become part of the ruling class. Absorbed as *imams*, *alkalai* and bureaucrats they became the ideologues of the polity. They were most prominent as diplomats where they brokered many peace deals.

Thus, by mid-eighteenth century, the legacy of Hausaland, the *Sarauta*, epitomized in Kano as elsewhere if not more so, which basic structures had matured by Sarki Rumfa, rejuvenated under the Kutumbawa, was due for another radical tampering. The Jihad led by Shehu Usman dan Fodio was the vehicle.

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52. ibid. p. 1/7
53. ibid. p. 178
54. Note the celebrated feat of Gwoji in the battle for Santolo and how he emerged as the Madawakin Kano. This was during Sarki Tsamiya ca. 1343 - 1349). There was the single handed expansion of the city by**…;** the wars of expansion by Galadima Dawuda under Sarki Abdullahi Burja ca. 1438 - 1452 AD; the establishment of the Karabka market by Dagachi in the same reign. Galadima Dawudu's role in the deposition of Sarki Atuma 1452 AD). Others were not warlords but very powerful during this period. They were some female members of the royalty, especially the wives and mothers of the Sarki. Note the roles of Iya Lamis and Madaki Mai daki?) Auwa in curtailing the powers of the Galadima, etc.

55. The council that selected the Sarki had the same latitude, i.e. not being constrained to appoint the son of a deceased Sarki
56. The Dagachi title would seem to have lost value from what it assumed with the arrival of the original one from Borno
57. The Sarkin Kofa has a triple function all related to security. Firstly, the physical security of the gate. Secondly, the military aspect of protection from enemy intelligence. Thirdly, the police duty of regulating entry into the city
58. Adeleye, R. A. "Hausaland and Borno, 1600 - 1800" in Ajayi, J. F. A. and Crowder, M. eds), History of West Africa op. cit. p.564
59. Umar Aqit and Mahluf b. Ali. al—Balabli were said to have delivered lectures to large audiences in Kano in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mischlish, A. cited in Mahdi, A. Ph.D. op. cit, p. 40
60. Ascended the throne at age sixty three
61. Last, M. 'Beyond Kano, Before Katsina: Friend and Foe on the Western Frontier" in Barkindo, B. M. ed). Kano and Some of Her Neighbours, A.B.U. ed.)
62. Last, M. "From Sultanate to Caliphate…" op. cit P. 73
63. Adeleye, R. A. "Hausaland and Borno…" op. cit.
64. ibid.
65. Palmer, H. R. "Sudanese Memoirs. op. cit. also Hausawa da Makwabtansu, op. cit.
66. Adeleye, R. A. "Hausaland and Bomb…" op. cit. P. 580
67. ibid.
68. Last, M. "From Sultanate to Caliphate .. ." op. cit. P. 72
69. ibid. p. 74
70. ibid. P. 77
71. ibid. P. 75
72. ibid. p. 79 -80
73. Palmer, H. R. Sudanese Memoirs, op. cit. P. 123
74. ibid. P. 124
75. ibid. p. 125
76. ibid. p. 123. Also Last, M. "From Sultanate . . . "op. cit. p.83
77. Last, M. ibid. p. 84
78. Last, M. "Historical Metaphors…" op. cit. P. 4
79. Palmer, H. R. "Sudanese Memoirs" op. cit p. 110
80. ibid. p.112
81. ibid. p.111

Part III

The Sociological Perspectives

CHAPTER EIGHT

Confluences and Influences: Kano as an Emergent City-State

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Introduction

Kano is a paradox. It is multiethnic and multicultural. Yet it is homogenous. This is a status that has been developed for well over one thousand years, painting a picture of a truly tolerant society in development. Studies on the history of Kano are such a legion that it would seem pointless to go over this well-trodden path. This was noted with some exasperation by H. C. Hall as far back as 1923 who commented that:

> Kano has been much written about, so it would be superfluous to give any lengthy description on it… but I might say that some writers coloured their views beyond forgiveness.[1]

And yet the phenomena that is Kano continues to provide endless fascination in all aspects of development; from ethnology to urban studies to arts and crafts and, of course, the biggest fascination of all, mercantile capitalism. Thus, because Kano was such a powerful emporium for centuries, it has provided researchers with endless opportunities for

theory formation on virtually all aspects of its development. Subsequently, for most of the 1960s to early 1980s, series of studies were carried out all over the world on the history, development and economy of Kano. The studies provide different perspectives and no doubt enriched the quality of information about the emirate.

Interestingly, however, while many of these studies concentrate on the historical processes that shaped Kano, not much attention was given to the urban cultural ecology of Kano. This paper hopes to provide some perspectives on the nature and development of cities, paying particular attention to how Kano emerged as a City-State in the last 1,000 years.

The analytical choice of urban cultural ecology is informed by the fact that research on urban cultures naturally focuses on their defining institution, the city, and the lifeway, or cultural forms that grow up within cities. Urban scholarship has steadily progressed toward a conception of cities and urban cultures that is free of ethnocentrism, with broad cross-cultural and historical validity.

Types of Urban Cultures

The typology of urban cultures depends on a conception of cities as centers for the performance of cultural roles found only in state-level societies. Such societies, in contrast to non-urban cultures have inequalities in economic wealth and political power, the former usually evidenced by class divisions, the latter by specialized institutions of social control ruling elites, government bureaucracies. Because cities do not occur in societies without state organization, the terms "urban cultures" and "state-level societies" are closely linked -

the former emphasizing belief patterns, the latter stressing social organization in such societies.

State-level societies differ in the nature and extent of economic and political inequalities, and this variability accounts for the different types of urban cultures, and cultural roles adduced below. The labels for the types of urban cultures denote the predominant cultural role played by cities in this urban culture - thus, "ritual city" or "administrative city." Obviously, cities in any society combine some amount of ritual role with administrative functions. The rationale for the labels used below, however, is that given particular constellations of inequalities, certain urban cultures come to exist and certain cultural roles of cities come to characterize or typify them. Thus, the label "administrative city" typifies the major but not exclusive cultural role played by cities in agrarian empires, whereas "industrial cities" represents the dominant urban cultural role in capitalist nation-states.

Theoretically, the emergence of urban cultures can be sub-divided into three loose categories. First were urban cultures which emerged before the establishment of presently defined capitalist systems. These encompass at least three types of cities: ritual, administrative and mercantile. These stages seemed to be linear, with one preceding the other. Secondly, there were urban centers that characterize the emergence of capitalist systems and these include the industrial city and the mass-communications village. Thirdly are the colonial and neocolonial urban cultures whose patterns included the colonial and neocolonial cities.

While the study of the emergence of the urban ecology of Kano as a city-state may fit in some of these theoretical frameworks, there are one or two problems. In the first

instance the framework does not provide for clear delineation of the evolutionary status of each category. Thus it is not clear whether these are linear stages which every city has to undergo through in its development, or whether the basic characteristics can all co-exist in the evolution of the same city. Secondly, the framework lacks absolute criteria which will provide indications of attaining developmental saturation within each development phase. In other words, how industrial should a city be to be considered a true industrial city? Finally, other categorizations seem missing from this broad classification of urban centers; for instance the emergence of what can be called the *scholastic* city. This may be seen as a city devoted significantly to the pursuit of academic activities.

Nevertheless a loose framework is provided through which the various periods of the development of Kano can be preliminarily classified. In this regard therefore, we chose to apply the theoretical frameworks of the city in a linear fashion as: ritual, administrative, mercantile, colonial and neocolonial characteristics. Next, we applied each of these theoretical constructs to the linear development of Kano as an emergent city-state.

Ritual City

It would appear, from the records of the *Kano Chronicle*[2] that Gaya, a small village about 60 kilometers from the present Kano, seemed to have played an important role in the establishment of Kano. In the first instance it would appear that Gaya served as an important terminus of a migratory corridor through which there was an influx of migrating peoples especially from eastern Sudan, the Maghrib and

Middle East. These included a large segment of Eastern Sudanic elements running away from the wars in the region. It was these elements that enhanced the status of Kano as a ritual city in about 700.

It was no accident that the earliest of man's fixed settlements are found in the rich subtropical valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus and the Yellow Rivers or in such well-watered islands as Crete. Such areas provided favourable environmental factors making town living relatively easy: climate and soil favourable to plant and animal life, an adequate water supply, ready materials for providing shelter, and easy access to other peoples. In other parts of the world, Kano inclusive, the presence of rock formations provided the added security from attack either by herds of wild animals or by organized groups of other invaders. In the case of Kano, the iron-bearing hill of Dala provided an added advantage of being an industrial base around which a rudimentary iron industry became established. Thus the lush vegetative environment, the constantly flowing river Jakara, the iron-bearing towering and protective hill, the thick forest of Kurmi to provide hunting grounds, all laid the foundation of urbanism in early Kano. An urban environment is nothing if it cannot guarantee protection, food, shelter and employment to its inhabitants. Early Kano did all these.

Consequently although man with ingenuity has been able to utilize almost any environment for town living, environments favourable to the production of food and shelter and ease and comfort of living clearly possessed advantages for the beginnings of urban life. But since man's first contact with his inner vision is through his spirituality, his first

concern in his new urban setting is the establishment of a series of rituals to appease whatever he decided to worship. This leads therefore to the settlement being a *ritual* city.

This theoretical postulate applied quite well to the development of Kano which started as a small mercantile community geared towards iron-smelting and associated trades. The entire community (settled at the base of a towering inselberg Dala), and located near water ways Jakara river), developed a religious fixation with a section of the river which they worshipped. Thus they developed an elaborate system of paying tribute to the gods of the river. As the idea of having *Sarki* as a political leader was not known, the chief priest of the community, *Mazauda,* became the natural leader of the community. Eventually there arrived a group of immigrants led by a powerfully built individual with strong Negroid features who brought with him more sophisticated form of ritualism. His name was Dala[3] and transformed the community into a highly organized *ritual city.*

This was similar to what obtained, for instance, in ancient Egypt where the Egyptian culture and education were preserved and controlled chiefly by the priests, a powerful intellectual elite in the Egyptian theocracy who also served as the political bulwarks by preventing cultural diversity. The humanities as well as such practical subjects as science, medicine, mathematics and geometry were in the hands of the priests, who taught in formal schools. Vocational skills relating to such fields as architecture, engineering, and sculpture were generally transmitted outside the context of formal schooling. In Kano, the priests worked together with at least 12 occupational families to entrench their power and control over the community.

Within this context, ritual cities represented the earliest form of urban center, in which the city served as a center for the performance of ritual and for the orthogenetic constitution and conservation of the society's traditions.[4] Dala's introduction of a four-cornered shrine and his institution of an annual pilgrimage to the fetish housed in the shrine served as a focus through which a social tradition (the annual pilgrimage) is sustained.

Ritual was the major cultural role of such cities, and through the enactment of ritual in the urban locale, rural regions were bound together by ties of common belief and cultural performance. When the ritual city of Kano acquired a new set of rituals which were at variance with the existing ritual practices, a section of the population, the *Maguzawa,* wishing to sustain the initial practices, moved out of the urban Kano and established communities in rural areas where they maintained the semblance of ritual characteristics they left behind.

The early forms of urbanism in the pristine civilizations of the Old World and Meso-America conform to the ritual city type. Other examples of ritual cities can be drawn from ethnographies of the urban culture of the Swazi in southeast Africa, Dahomey in West Africa, and Bali before the Dutch conquest. In most areas of the world this form of urban culture was quickly succeeded by more complex types. In the case of Kano, Sarki Tsamiya's (1307-1343) relentless wars against *Tsumburbura* cultists, signaled the beginning of the transformation, which was consolidated during Yaji's (1349-1385) reign when Islam came to Kano in 1380 with the Wangarawa clerics.

Ritual cities were found in urban cultures that have been called "segmentary states" or "primitive states." Such states had minimal development of class stratification and political coercion. Although segmentary states had rulers, such as a chiefly lineage or priesthood, control over land and other means of production remained with clans, lineages, or other kin-based groups outside the rulers' domination. Political authority and economic wealth were therefore widely dispersed. Early Kano confirms this development. This was because the Dala community was structured according to specified hierarchies controlled by powerful families in whom reside all political and social power. The tradition had it that there were eleven occupational families or clans who controlled the Dala community in Kano, and who, between them, seem to provide a well-structured social, if not political life for the emergent community.

Limited political centralism and economic coordination meant that the ritual, prestige and status functions of the state loomed large. Segmentary state rulers were symbolic embodiments of supernatural royal cults or sacred ritual ones. They — their courts and temples — provided a model of the proper political order and status hierarchy that was adhered to throughout the otherwise weakly cohered segmentary state. Through the awe and fear they inspired, they extracted gifts from their followers with which to sustain their priesthood.

The cultural forms of ritual cities centered on the cult centers, temple complexes or royal courts that dominated their physical space and defined their urban role. As the rulers' habitation, the ritual city spatially embodied the role of the sacred and ceremonial in defining the urban culture.[5] The everyday population of the city consisted of those bound to

court or temple by family, official duties, or craft and ritual specializations; at ceremonial times, people from the surrounding rural areas temporarily swelled the urban area. The *Tsumburbura* priesthood was a patrilineage assembly with Barbushe, Dala's great grandson, elevating the priesthood to the level of perfection. Therefore, rather than individualism, secularism or impersonality, the calendrical round of state rituals, kingly ceremonies, divine sacrifices, sacred celebrations, feasts, funerals and installations defined urban life, rendering it sacred, corporate and personalistic.[6]

Administrative City

The arrival of Bagauda's army in Kano in 999 laid the foundation of the transformation of Kano into an *administrative* city. Like ritual cities, administrative cities were the habitations of the state rulers. And although Bagauda did not rule the territory from Kano city, he nevertheless left a garrison presence which administered the city on his behalf. It must be pointed out that while Bagauda founded a military dynasty in Kano, he was not the first ruler; Mazauda priesthood had that prerogative. Further, Bagauda's arrival did not really "found" Kano; for the antecedent community of blacksmiths, hunters and farmers had been existing in the territory for well over three centuries *before* his arrival.

The major cultural role of administrative cities was to serve as the locus of state administration. State offices and officers had an urban location from which they exercised a political control and economic exploitation of the surrounding rural areas quite unknown in ritual cities. Thus, the arrival of Bagauda established a bureaucratic political machinery that determined the structure of the community. Prior to his

arrival, there was some form of political control, vested in the hands of occupational families. His arrival centralized the control in one locus. Elements of the ritual city mentality of course remained and would continue to do so for centuries to come — with the *Tsumburbura* cultists clinging to their beliefs. Bagauda's reign was therefore a transition period in the urban ecology of Kano, where the ritualists — the antecedent *Maguzawa* — and the administrators coexist, albeit not entirely peacefully. However, some of Bagauda's successors, in particular Gajimasu (1034-1095), were more diplomatic. While conceding to the existence of the ritualists, they nevertheless went about laying solid foundations of an administrative superstructure. Gajimusu had the defense of the realm as his priority, and thus started building a wall around the community — thus confirming the emergence of Kano as a city. Incidentally, the confrontation between the new political leaders and the priesthood was based on turf power and territoriality, rather than religious differences. For while the leaders of Kano before 1349 were clearly not Muslims, nevertheless they do not seem to share the pagan beliefs of the priesthood they relentlessly prosecuted.

Administrative cities also had a qualitatively different demographic and social complexity. They contained large populations, densely settled, often ethnically varied, with heterogeneous occupations. Such cities were nodes of communication and transportation and centers of commerce, crafts and other economic functions for the surrounding countryside. In the case of Kano, this was illustrated by the waves of Yemenite and other migrants who brought in different trades, products and skills to the city. And as the city became more variegated and urbanized, it was clear that a

civil service machinery that deals with trade, commerce and leadership in a structured way must also be developed. Agriculture, however, characterized the main features of the city at this stage. Sarkin Kano Tsamiya (1307-1343) waged a ruthless war against the ritualists, no doubt aided by the many Semitic migrants among his army and firmly established Kano as an administrative city.

Administrative cities occurred in agrarian empires, state-level societies associated with the early civilizations of Hindu and Muslim India, China, and Egypt, as well as the Mamluk Middle East, Tokugawa Japan, Alexandrine Greece and other expansive territorial states before the advent of the world capitalist system.

Mercantile City

The classic mercantile cities appeared at the geographic margins or at times of dissolution of agrarian empires - for example, in medieval and early modern Europe, after a decentralized feudalism had fully replaced the Roman Empire. This urban type is thus a variant form that appeared, under particular conditions, in the urban cultures that also contained strong features of administrative cities.

The growing reputation of Kano as a powerful kingdom served to attract traders and merchants from states and cities as far away as the Maghrib. Kano became a trans-Saharan terminus through which people exchanged goods and services across the continent to the north. The arrival of Islam in mid-14 century, coming in the company of a full contingent of traders, served to entrench the mercantile features of the city. Religion and trade thus served as impetus through which the city became increasingly bureaucratized

and urbanized. And since both enjoyed the patronage of the ruling hierarchy, there was an administrative machinery through which trade diffused throughout the kingdom — further attracting more merchants who bring more goods and services. Soon villages began to be established. Some of the early ones included Lambu, Kanwa, Kwankwaso, Kura, Tamburawa, Yankatsari, Mariri, Gunduwawa. To the east of the community there were Sugugun, Jirima and many others. Significantly enough, the agrarian nature of the community and urban extensions merely served to complement the mercantile orientations of the city.

Thus the arrival of many migrant elements brought about a boom in external trade and exchange, through the establishment of various industries as ethnic groups came with their skills, in various fields of endeavor, to sell in exchange for their needs. As a result of this prosperity, a bourgeoisie class started to emerge. They accumulated wealth, slaves and other properties like horses. Thus in a rudimentary way, the establishment of a mercantile mentality sowed the seeds of emerging capitalism in Kano as far back as 12th century.

Clearly, the mercantile city's links with the wider culture — the rural agrarian communities that produce goods for the emerging capitalist merchants — were disjunctive rather than, as with the administrative city, supportive. A class of powerful and wealthy merchants not completely beholden to the state rulers grew up in such cities. The beginnings of such mercantile capitalists as the foundation of Kano city wealth were sowed with the subsequent arrival of the Agalawa and Tripolitanian Arabs during the reign of Sarki Abdullahi Burja (1452-1463). The Agalawa, with direct lineage

to Tuaregs of central Sudan, established the tradition of itinerant Hausa trader before firmly settling down in various communities in *Kasar Kano*, Garko, Wudil, Gezawa, Rafin Malam, Jalli, Bichi and others)[7] although with the largest concentration in the city. They were accepted and assimilated — an easy thing for a person carrying an immense amount of wealth. Their most illustrious legacy, however, was the emergence, from their roots, of the dynasty of Alhasan Dantata[8], undoubtedly the wealthiest merchant class dynasty Kano has ever produced.

What confirmed the international mercantile status of Kasar Kano was the large scale arrival of Tripolitanian Arabs in the 19th century. Prior to large scale arrival, they had been coming in dribs and drabs, either en route to other trans-Saharan cities, or as permanent residents. Leading the way, as early as during the reign of Rumfa (1463-1499) were Muslim clerics and scholars. Al-Maghili's arrival in the period and the establishment of the Madabo scholastic tradition merely conveyed to the Maghrib the openness of the kingdom to trade — widening the route for more migrants to follow.

But, although places of innovation, achievement, freedom and mobility — traits that they share with industrial cities — mercantile cities, were neither impersonal nor secular, indeed in the case of Kano, mercantilism and scholarship were inexorably linked. The trading delegation contained within the contingent clerics who laid the foundation of a veritable university in the 15th century Kano modeled on the University of Sankore in Timbuktu.

The extended family was the major institution organizing business firms — for instance, the Dantata dynasty in Kano — political coalitions and much elite social life. Other

corporate institutions, like guilds and religious fraternities, joined city dwellers into highly personalized, ritualized associations that downplayed individualism and secularism in the city. This is reflected, for instance, in the Madabo scholastic traditions which became a dominant intellectual factor in the history of *Kasar Kano.*

Further, in suitable circumstances, as in the case of Kano, riches partly derive from the control of external trade, and thus the degree to which a city could maintain its position as a capital city depended much on the extent to which it was able to operate as an important center of trade. As Smith pointed out,

> In the early history of *birane* cities in Hausaland), there is often mention of the building of the walls *garuka),* which characterized these settlements. Basically these were no doubt of military significance... but it is to be suggested that they were also a means of controlling trade and permitting the *sarki* to levy his tolls at the gates. The greatest of the kings of Kano, Muhammad Rumfa, was not only a wall-builder but also the founder of the great city market — *Kasuwar Kurmi.*[9]

Kasuwar Kurmi thus became the reference point for Kano mercantilism, as well as a trans-Saharan terminus for centuries.

Scholastic city

One category omitted from the theoretical postulations of emergence of urban culture would seem to be the academic or scholastic city. While it is hard to imagine a city totally devoted to scholarship, nevertheless many cities evolved on

the foundation of scholarship. It is argued that Kano owes its emergence as a city-state to its scholastic tradition stretching back to the 14th century and earlier. The eddy of scholars and merchants in Kano set a trend which eventually created a city of learning. This was similar to how such cities evolved in other parts of the world.[10]

In Sparta, the most flourishing city of the 8th and 7th centuries BC, education was carried to a high level of artistic refinement, as evidenced by the events organized within the framework of the city's religious festivals. In Athens a system of higher education open to all emerged with the appearance of the Sophists, mostly foreign teachers who were contemporaries and adversaries of Socrates (c. 470-399 BC).

The Greco-Byzantine heritage of learning that was preserved through the medium of Middle Eastern scholarship was combined with elements of Persian and Indian thought and taken over and enriched by the Muslims where the Umayyad caliphate 661-750), allowed the sciences of the Hellenistic world to flourish in Syria and patronized Semitic and Persian schools in cities like Alexandria, Beirut, Gondeshapur, Nisibis, Haran and Antioch.[11]

The neo-Persian empire of the Sasanians (224-651) gave education a strong moral, social, and national foundation. The greatest achievement of Sasanian education was in higher education, particularly as it developed in the Academy of Gondeshapur which developed into the most advanced academic centre of learning in the later period of Sasanian civilization. The academy, to which came students from various parts of the world, advanced, among other subjects, Zoroastrian, Greek and Indian philosophies; Persian, Hellenic and Indian astronomy; Zoroastrian ethics, theology and

religion; law, government and finance and various branches of medicine. It was partly through the Academy of Gondeshapur that important elements of classical Greek and Roman learning reached the Muslims during the 8th and 9th centuries.[12]

When Islam spread to Islamize Spain in the 8th century, much of the learning of the past — Oriental, Greek, and Roman — was preserved and further developed. In particular, Greek and Latin scholarship was collected in great libraries in the cities of Cordoba, Seville, Granada and Toledo, which became major centers of advanced scholarship, especially in the practical arts of medicine and architecture.[13]

The academic city, working closely with the city's administrative machinery creates further opportunities for extending the fame of the city. The Wangarawa clerics, numbering 3,636 were actually on their way to Makkah under the leadership of Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Zait.[14] On passing through the Hausaland, they were persuaded to stay in various urban clusters to establish schools. And although they made Kano their permanent home — rich, prosperous and protected as it then was — their main mission of spreading literacy was maintained. Not only did they found the Madabo scholastic tradition, they also established faculties named after their various professors sheiks) in various locales in the city; thus we have Kabara, Mandawari Mandaghri) Sheshe (Shayshe) and Zaitawa (Zait's descendents).

> The accounts of the intellectual depth of the *Wangarawa* scholars given in the earliest recorded history of their arrival[15] in Kano clearly demonstrate the establishment of rhetoric in the intellectual history of Kano. In the 15th century these scholastic traditions were sustained further by Mass migration of Fule Malams from Mali who worked

> to supplement the activities of the *Wangarawa*. Distinguished visitors made a point of visiting Kano and Katsina in their travels... Many scholars fled from Mali to Kano and Borno, bringing their books with them.[16]

It should be pointed out that the clerics came with books, and that further stimulated the book industry in Kano. When rare books were obtained copies were made and sold. In this way, the knowledge spreads. Further, clerics and other professors in the system would write down their thoughts and theses which would serve as a basis for discourse. In this way, impressive reference library collections were made in all aspects of Islamic knowledge all networked to Madabo school established by the Wangarawa.

Indeed the argument was that the Madabo network of schools formed a veritable university in medieval Kano. This is because in the original sense of the word, a college, and subsequently, a university, was a group of students who gathered to share academic and residential facilities. Thus each college was a component part of a corporate body called a university, the word being an abbreviation of the Latin *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* "guild (or union) of masters and students"),[17] organized for mutual advantage and legal protection. The Kano *gardi* system truly encapsulated this learning matrix.

Further, the relationship between schooling, religion and ruling dynasties as antecedent web-links in a nascent university as in medieval *Kasar Kano* has strong origins in other parts of the world. This was because the oldest known systems of education in history had two characteristics in common: they taught religion, and they promoted the traditions of the people. In ancient Egypt the temple schools taught not only religion but also the principles of writing, the

sciences, mathematics, and architecture. The University of Nalanda, in northern India, where native and Chinese students studied Buddhism, functioned until the 13th century. India was the fountainhead of the Buddhist doctrines that were taught in its institutions to Chinese scholars; they, in turn, spread the teachings of Buddha to the various countries of the Far East. Education in ancient China stressed philosophy, poetry and religion in accord with the teachings of Confucius, Lao-tzu, and other philosophers. As noted earlier, in Greece, the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle were advanced schools of philosophy. During the Hellenistic period, which began in the 4th century BC, Athens attracted many Roman students, later including the statesmen and writers Julius Caesar, Cicero, Augustus and Horace. Also important during this period was the Egyptian city of Alexandria with its great library and museum, which attracted scholars from the Middle East.

The Jewish academies in Palestine and Babylonia, which produced the Talmud, promoted religious and secular intellectual pursuits from about AD 70 through the 13th century. The Bible and the Talmud are the basic sources of information about the aims and methods of education among the ancient Jews. Jewish parents were urged by the Talmud to teach their children such subjects as vocational knowledge, swimming and a foreign language. Today, religion serves as the basis for education in the home, the synagogue, and the school. The Torah remains the foundation of Jewish education.

In western Europe, two revival schools of learning emerged in the 9th century, one on the Continent, under Charlemagne and one in England, under King Alfred the Great. Charlemagne, recognizing the value of education,

brought the cleric and educator Alcuin of York from England to set up a palace school at Aachen. King Alfred became a scholar himself and established educational institutions in England; he also encouraged monasteries to expand their educational work. Ireland had centers of learning from which many monks were sent out to teach in countries on the Continent. Between the 8th and the 11th centuries the highly cultivated Moorish conquerors of Spain revived the Roman University in the capital city of Cordoba. This became a centre for the study of philosophy, ancient culture, science and mathematics.

Western European universities developed as students migrated to various places where noted teachers lectured on subjects of particular interest to them. It was thus in this fashion that a network of schools centered around Madabo ward in Kano provided a central pool of learning mechanism that attracted many clerics and scholars from all over the Maghrib and Western Sudan. In early European universities, language was no barrier because lectures and disputation were conducted in the universal tongue, Latin. In the case of medieval learning centers of *Kasar Kano,* it was Arabic. By the 12th century Paris was established as the center for theology and philosophy, and the University of Paris became the model for later universities in northern Europe. By the end of 14th century, Madabo has developed into a series of city-wide faculty clusters where individual themes were fully developed. Thus we had the Kabara, Mandawari, Daneji, Sheshe schools.

Very much as the Christian ethics shaped the nature of the Western university, so did Islam contributed to the great cultural developments of the Islamic university system. The

universities were founded as institutions of religious learning, where the *ulama* (religious scholars), *qadis* (judges), *muftis* (interpreters of the law), and other high religious officials were trained. These officials formed an important political class, especially in Turkey and India, where they had much influence over state policies.

In the 9th century the caliph al-Mamun (786-833) founded an academy at Baghdad for the study of secular subjects and for the translation of Greek philosophical and scientific texts. In the 10th century, at Cairo, the Fatimid caliphs also established an academy for secular learning, al-Azhar, still the most important center for Islamic learning. Rulers and wealthy patrons usually made funds available for individual scholars. Medieval Islamic scholars made important contributions to the fields of philosophy, medicine, astronomy, mathematics and the natural sciences; between the 9th and 13th centuries the Islamic community was the most productive civilization in the world. Thus scholasticism, as a concept found expression in university clusters in whatever community where religion, learning and the ruling dynasty provided the right atmosphere for the development of the base systems for higher education. The Madabo university was that base for *Kasar Kano.* It established a superior learning system in medieval Kano that rivals any similar learning system anywhere in the world. The Madabo University is a tradition that has still been maintained in Kano.

The Colonial City

Colonial cities arose in societies that fell under the domination of Europe and North America in the early expansion of the capitalist world system. The colonial

relationship required altering the productivity of the colonial society in order that its wealth could be exported to the core nations and colonial cities centralized this function. Their major cultural role was to house the agencies of this unequal relationship: the colonial political institutions—bureaucracies, police and the military—by which the core ruled the colony and the economic structure—banks, merchants and moneylenders—through which wealth drained from colony to core.

Bombay and Calcutta under the British, the European trading cities in China and West Africa, the British East African and Dutch East Indian urban centers for the collection of plantation crops — from the 18th through the mid-20th centuries — represent this urban type. The core capitalist nations implanted colonial cities as new growths into preexisting precapitalist state societies in many world regions, just as they altered the societies by making them unequal participants in world capitalism. The resulting urban culture represented a novel amalgam of the core and the periphery with qualities not found in either parent culture.

This new combination was most in evidence in the elite population of the colonial city and its cultural forms. For example, new classes and urban lifeway appeared among the indigenous population. Most of the time the cultural role of the colonial city required the creation of an indigenous urban lower-middle class of merchants, moneylenders, civil servants, and others who were educated to serve the colonial political and economic establishment.

The establishment of the Township administration in Kano and large scale importation of West African nationals into Kano, as well as large numbers of southern Nigerians —

all groups at cultural variance with the indigenous population, characterize the colonial city. All these migrants require an orientation capable of turning them into Black Europeans to serve the colonial machinery. The British did not explore the fact that the native Kanawa, with over one thousand years of intellectual tradition could easily have acquired the new skills and new knowledge, so long as they were presented in a form similar to what they have inherited from their intellectual tradition.

Thus as in the Kano Township, the colonial educated lower-middle class often attempted to reform its culture in line with that of the colonizing power, most often through new urban institutions like schools, welfare associations, and sectarian or secular reform groups. A generation or so later, this class transformed by these urban institutions commonly formed the leadership of nationalist anti-colonial movements. Thus, the colonial city, which began as an instrument of colonial exploitation, became a vehicle of anti-colonial protest through this lower middle class and the cultural institutions, schools, newspapers and other urban cultural forms it had constructed.

Culturally, the colonial city introduced innovations and practices that serve to undermine the base culture of those it subsumed. The elaborate processes of' establishing separate residential areas for different races in Kano, the introduction of European sports facilities and the commendations given to the natives good enough to excel in these sports, all point to the slow cultural indoctrination of the colonial city. The colonialists soon left — to be replaced by their clones in black skins who were proud to sustain the colonial tradition as evidence of merger with the modern world.

The Industrial City

Industrial cities appeared after the full development of industrial capitalism in the core nation-states of the late 18th-century world system. Their urban cultural role fit well with the capitalist economic order that came to dominate all other social institutions. Capitalism depended on the production of commodities through wage labor in the interests of capital accumulation. The city became a center of such production processes and the location for the industrial factories in which this production most typically took place. It was also the residence for the other "commodity" necessary to its productivity, wage laborers. Ancillary urban functions— banking, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and communications nodality— grew up to expedite the factory production or the provisioning of the labor force.

Rapid population increase through in-migration characterized the growth of the industrial city. The most salient aspects of urban cultural forms grew up in the neighborhoods that housed the newly urbanized labor. Populations with very different cultural characteristics came together in the city, such as the Irish in the British Midlands or the many ethnic groups that formed the urban American melting pot. Ethnic and racial ties often provided the links for migration chains, and they helped recent migrants find jobs, housing and friendship in a new environment. These ties often resulted in ethnically segregated urban neighborhoods among the working class. This was how the Kano Sabon Gari, Fage and other pen-urban settlement clusters came to being. It is argued, however, that since Kano is not an industrial city *per se,* the characteristics of density clusters reflect more of a

diversified economy centered around commodity utilization from the factories, rather than large-scale industrial production.

Two contradictory patterns of organization and conflict characterized this urban population. One pattern grew out of the dense settlement of the working class in the industrial city. Residential aggregation helped organize large-scale working-class protest in the interests of better working conditions and wages.[18] The other, contradictory, pattern consisted of ethnic or racial exclusiveness and competition within the working class. Ethnic or racial residential segregation often provided the base for competition among members of the working class for jobs and urban locations convenient to the workplace. Characteristically, one ethnic population in the industrial city guarded its neighborhood against invasion by another — or, in times of rapid economic growth and social mobility, ethnic succession, wherein an upwardly mobile ethnic population would leave its neighborhood to a newly urbanizing ethnic grouping, would occur. The retention or strengthening of ethnic or racial identities in industrial cities commonly took place under these conditions.

The industrial city is the terminus for two conflicting processes emanating from the capitalist character of the wider society: capitalist investment in urban property for profit making and class conflict. The former process subjects the human and natural environment to the interests of capital accumulation; the latter makes for the formation of urban neighborhood associations, ethnic associations and other sorts of class alliances that organize local resistance to this profit taking. The city then becomes a battleground for these opposing forces.[19]

The Neocolonial City

This urban type has arisen in relation to the development of monopoly capitalism and the mass-communications city in the core. Export capital from advanced industrial nations has created enclaves of industrial production in Third World cities, thus replicating in these urban places many of the cultural roles played by the industrial city in the core. There are urban factories and urban-resident wage laborers. There is a developing infrastructure of urban transport and communication by which these commodities and laborers are allocated. There is massive urban-ward migration from neighbouring rural areas. Tudun Wada became one of the first experiments in the development of neocolonial industrialist suburbia.[20]

The neocolonial city, however, does not exactly duplicate the cultural role of the industrial urban type precisely because of its dependent relationship with the core. Interestingly, while the commodities produced in classic neocolonial cities generally are destined for export rather than for home consumption, except perhaps by small home elite, the neocolonial hybrid that was Kano in the aftermath of the colonial interregnum produced foreign commodities for internal consumption. Thus the emergence of neocolonial economy has led to expansion of Kano into many areas. The core areas included settlement clusters at Bompai, Dakata and Tudun Wada.

Further, the large-scale urbanization in the neocolonial city gives rise to the informal economy in these cities. The informal economy consists of urban services and products provided by the neocolonial city's poorest denizens, the petty

hawkers, the shoeshine boys, the household help, the rag pickers and others who form a class of petty commodity producers and sellers. The common image of these people is highly pejorative: they are marginal to the city, usually unemployed and often criminal, unmotivated and dysfunctional to urban life, characterized by a "culture of poverty" that, at the same time, makes them accept their wretched condition and keeps them in it. In this way large sprawls of densely populated areas were developed at Sabuwar Hausawa, Karkasara, Shagari Quarters, Tukuntawa, etc. These were all marginal residential areas.

It is not clear which directions the new developments will lead to, or whether a further study of the development of the system decades from now would yield new theoretical insights into the emergence of city-states both in Nigeria and other parts of the world. What has however emerged from this study is the complexity of communities and the need to understand the forces that led to their integration in efforts to foster greater understanding between peoples and promote international peace and understanding.

Conclusion: Kano as a Melting Pot

These variegated developments hide one central quality of Kano: its multiethnic nature. For in the 1,000 years Kano has developed, it has done so as a result of the rich variety of influences of various cultures that congregates to the city. Although it is easy to scoff at the "invader" theory of state formation (as did Smith[21]), nevertheless there are gaping questions not fully answered by ignoring these theories of state formation in Hausaland, particularly Kano. It is thus argued that Semitic migratory elements, either running away

from wars or other calamities, or being just plain adventurers, and having a wider contact with other peoples than the earlier settlers in the Kano basin, might have brought with them experiences, tales and practices from other cultures, which became integrated into the nascent Kano community. Most of these experiences were likely to be those that take advantage of an existing situation and turn it around in their favor, which eventually gave them political and spiritual control over those they found. Thus with the continued arrival of newer, aggressive elements, spiritual worship in Kano turned away from abstraction (worshiping dark stagnant water) to a concrete focus worshiping a specially constructed fetish housed in a shrine).

Further, the rituals that emerge subsequently seemed to bear striking similarities in their methodology — e.g. being annual and a congregation — to those conducted annually in the *Ka'aba*, at Makkah during the Jahiliyya periods. Further, the *Tsumburbura* fetish was housed in a four cornered building, resembling the position of Lata and Uzza idols in *Ka'aba* in the Makkah of the same period. If the Dala-Dahlak theory is acceptable, then it would seem that migratory tribes from the fringes of the Red Sea, already aware of the practices and history of the early development of Makkah, might have attempted to re-create the process in Kano.

Similarly, an extremely fascinating pattern that emerges out of the Kano chronicles in the antiquity to middle-ages was the names of the various rulers and their counselors. Although by and large their names were aboriginal and unique (e.g. Naguji, Bugayya), or descriptive (e.g. *Jandodo,* red monster; *Guguwa,* cyclone), nevertheless a series of unique and definitely non-aboriginal names were also manifest. To begin

with, Bagauda, a latter arrival to the aboriginal settlement was also known as Dauda, a Semitic name, and Bagauda contemporaneously retains. Thus we read accounts of how the Agalawa, Tripolitanian Arabs, (Adarawa Nigeriêne), Agadés (Tuareg Nigeriene), Azben (Air Tuareg), Wangarawa (Malians) Yemenite Arabs, Lebanese from outside the Nigerian geopolitical orbit came to Kano, settled down and largely with the exception of the Lebanese), became integrated as Kano Hausawa, both ethnically, culturally and linguistically. Nearby Bornuans, Katsinawa, Daurawa, Kwararrafa (Jukunawa), Gobirawa and massive influx of Fulani pastoralists and scholars contributed to the cultural mix, thus enriching *Kasar Kano* not only culturally and commercially, but also scholastically.

Of course all these years of cultural evolution have not been without occasional flashpoints of social upheaval in Kano. Yet significantly, these were motivated by outside political forces. For instance, the Kano Civil war of early 1890s was caused by the imposition of an unpopular *Amir* on Kano by Sakkwato. This led to a palace revolt which ended after the ascension of the throne by the more favored choice *Amir.* Similarly the riots of 1953 and 1966 were as a result of uncertainties of the political future of the Nigerian nation and had their sources *outside* Kano. Even the "religious" riots of the early 1980s (the Maitatsine phenomenon) were essentially reflections of disenfranchisement of a segment of the society which simply reflects ineffective and faulty social policies of poverty alleviation. None of these upheavals seemed to be culturally motivated (e.g. Azben against Yemenite, Bornuan against Fulani etc). All migrant groups have accepted their present status as indistinguishable *Kano Hausa.* It is here that

the Kano phenomenon makes a significant contribution to a theoretical understanding of peace studies: how all diverse groups tended to be smoothly assimilated into one cultural entity on settling in Kano. There are lessons here for multicultural societies, especially in developing countries.

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2. *Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-balad al-Musamma Kano,* Anon, the oft quoted *Kano Chronicles* as translated by H. R. Palmer and published in the *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol 38 1908) PP. 59-98 and republished in his *Sudanese Memoirs* 3 volumes: London, 1928), 3: 92-132. On the whole, **it** would appear that three documents form the central core of Kano studies from antiquity to middle-ages: Tarikh Arbab documented *Kano Chronicle), Wakar Bagauda* The Song of Bagauda; popular folk song, *Asl-Wangariyin* The Wangarawa Chronicle, documenting the arrival of Islam to Kano in about 1380); *Al-Asaril Kanawiyya* 'Legacy of Kano') and *Al-ilan bi Tarikh Kano* Concerning the History of Kano) 1925; updated 1932 — independent, and interestingly enough, Tripolitanian writer) by Adamu Na Ma'aji. The oldest and most prominent, *Kano Chronicle* was also translated as *Hausawa Da Makwabtansu* Vols I and II by Rupert A. East Zaria, 1932 and 1933), and reprinted in 1970 Zaria, NNPC), henceforth referred to as the *Chronicle.* It was adapted from the history of Kano which S*arki* Muhammadu Bello 1883-1893) ordered to be collated from earlier records, whose initial writing might have started as early as 1650. It was originally written in Arabic. For detailed analysis of the document as well as other primary sources on early Kano history, see Murray Last, "Historical Metaphors in the Kano Chronicle," *Africa,* Vol. 7 1980), pp. 161-178. Other debates about Kano in antiquity, and with specific reference to Kano Chronicle are covered by M. G. Smith, "The Kano Chronicle as History" in Bawuro M. Barkindo ed.), *Studies in the History of Kano,* Kano, 1983, pp. 31-56, as well as Murray Last, Kano: c.1450-1800, in the same volume; M. Hiskett, "The Kano Chronicle" a brief note), J*ournal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1957, Part I, pp. 79-81. M.G. speculated that the Chronicle was written originally in Arabic by native Arabic speakers and was probably compiled by scholars from the small community of Tripolitanian Arabs who first settled in Kano under Yakubu 1452-1463). Murray Last,

however, hypothesized — based on memory lapses contained in some of the narratives — that **it** was compiled from about 1652 during Kukuna's reign). For further notes on sources of Kano history, see also notes 12) and 14). Another source of history of Kano is Muhammad Zangi b. Salih's *Taqyid al-akhbar,* Kano 1868, and translated by Ibrahim Ado Kurawa as *The Jihad in Kano* Translation and Analysis of Taqyid al-akbar of Qadi Muhammad b. Salih, Kano, 1989. Zangi's account of Kano history however was more sanguinary starting as it did from the Jihad year 1804). He was also contemptuously skeptical of *Tarikh Arbab* as a document and completely dismisses it.

3. There are speculations that the name *Dala* is localized from *Dab Zak* the possible place of origin of Dala himself. Dahiak is an archipelago, containing more than 100 small coral and reef- fringed islands located off the coast in the Red Sea, under the control of what is now Eritrea. The area, with its rich history, culture and contact with many peoples might have given its migrants a more sophisticated and recent understanding of world affairs than the settlers Dala met in the Kano basin. I am grateful to the late Sheikh Nasir Kabara for this strand of arguments and for sharing with him his written record on the Dala origins.
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CHAPTER NINE

The Politics of Belonging and Settler Cultural Identity: The Emergence of Kano as a Multicultural Society

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Citizenship can be thought of as a key marker of contemporary life. It denotes a boundary making decision system about what is considered legitimate and the norm within a particular community. This suggests that citizenship is the accumulation of such decisions over a long duration. What feeds these decisions? The most precise answer would have to be the cultural practices that are judged and regarded to be important to the social, political and legal fabric of society. Citizenship, in an ongoing contest with subjectivity and identity, maintains its validity by being the measure upon which "true" belonging and participation are conceived. Citizenship and identity are therefore bound together.

The conceptualization of contemporary citizenship, its definitions and its implications is not an easy task. For one thing, conceptions of citizenship need to "avoid the homogenizing assumptions implicit in unitary and exclusive conceptions of identity" (Kaplan, 1997: 68). Thus, as further

argued by Requejo (1999), the concept of citizenship has been interpreted in different ways throughout history. For instance, since the time of classical Greece it has always been taken to refer to an *individual* member of a political community, and considered to be one of the basic references of individual and collective identity of this community.

In modern democracies, citizenship involves direct or indirect participation in the exercise of sovereignty. But beyond this strict definition, the notion of citizenship has come to incorporate rights of a diverse nature. According to the classical distinction proposed by Marshall, these may be defined as civil, social and political (Marshall, 1950). As it gains momentum in recent times, the notion of citizenship has undergone multiple redefinitions that blur these traditional distinctions, rearticulate the civil and the political, and reshuffle the debate between citizenship and identity. As Don Handelman (1994: 443) argued when considering the issue of nationality in Israel,

> In a democratic state, citizenship rests on the premise that each individual eligible for citizenship is the moral and political equal of every other. Each citizen exists as a unit of meaning paralleling that of every other citizen see Segal 1988). Citizenship is a property of the individual, and the unity of the democratic state arises out of the equal relationship that each citizen acknowledges to every other person similarly defined. Emphasis in such a social order is placed on the claim of basic similarities among its members, and each is accorded both rights and obligations. But, as Dumont 1986) points out, there is no requirement that citizens of the democratic state share in any essential socio-cultural sameness of being. In this regard, the sensibilities of personhood and identity of each citizen in principle may be distinct from those of any other.

Sanchez-Mazas, M. and Klein, O. (2003) ask why study citizenship from a social-psychological perspective? One reason is certainly that social psychologists can enlighten the understanding of this "essentially contested concept" Gallie, quoted by Lister, (1997) with their theoretical and empirical knowledge on social identification processes. Another reason is that in studying citizenship issues, much can be gained for the study of social identity itself. This concept, which refers to "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group or groups together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" Tajfel, (1981: 255) is at the core of one of the dominant contemporary theories on intergroup relations. New dimensions of citizenship brought to the fore by the current political transformations, especially the emergence of a supranational frame of identification in Europe, and in smaller scale in African countries coping with migratory patterns) and of multiple identities in the public sphere, call for a study of social identity in connection with the notion of citizenship.

Emerging after the industrial revolution and still dominant, the traditional national model of citizenship is based on a construction of the State as representing a single ethnic group or "nation" (Breuilly, 1982; Gellner, 1994; Hobsbawm, 1990). The form of identification presumed in this model was "ethnic" in its form i.e., it presupposed the construction of a nation sharing a common culture, history, language, religion, ancestors and/or any combination thereof. This view of identification requires a subjective homogenization of the national citizenry, often realized through an essentialization of the nation. In psychological terms, loyalty and support for the State was thought to derive

from identification with the group it is supposed to represent (Hobsbawm, 1983).

The question of what drives people to support, or to contest, existing authorities and institutions has attracted social psychological interest for decades. Yet, one may argue that recent conceptualizations of such loyalty have been largely based on an "ethnic" view of citizenship. Individuals are thought to support a group to the extent that they self-define as members of this group, which, in turn, demands that they view it as a cohesive entity (see e.g. Castano 1998; Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Hogg 1987; Hogg & Hardie 1991).

While Licata et al. (2003) question the view that similarity is the key to identification, which determines loyalty, Depuiset and Butera (2003) address the issue of loyalty through the distinction, offered by Schatz and Staub (1997) between "constructive" and "blind" patriotism. The latter reflects the classic form of loyalty, characteristic of "classic" nationalism and based on an unmitigated support to the in-group whereas the former incorporates a critical dimension which has gained prior importance in the civil society described by Habermas (1992), and characterized by permanent debate and the absence of consensus. While Schatz and Staub viewed these two aspects as fixed personality traits, Depuiset et al. show that constructive patriotism can vary as a function of the perceived legitimacy of the actions of the authorities. In presenting this perspective, they "de-essentialize" patriotism, and show that it should be considered not only in terms of self-definition and emotional attachment to an in-group, but as embedded in specific political relations with authorities.

The social identity tradition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) has very much relied on a phenomenological definition of identity, focusing on the cognitions, evaluations and emotions associated with group membership (Tajfel, 1981; see also Turner, 1982). In this view, group behavior is often considered as only a consequence of this self-definition rather than as actually constructing it. Yet, identities are not only defined cognitively, they are embedded and constructed in action.

Even when groups draw upon historical and religious references, they actively construct their identities around a plurality of political projects not only aiming at recognition of particularisms but also at political involvement in the broader society. These interpretations are precisely the focus of the arguments by Hopkins, Reicher and Kahani-Hopkins (2003) where they analyze how members of a minority group, the Muslim Community in Britain, use religious narratives to justify specific political projects in the context of British society. They highlight a crucial message: Identities are not self-evident consequences of particular social contexts but they are constructed and contested through debate in the public sphere. They also illustrate the deep interconnection between identity and politics in the context of the emerging broader conceptualizations of citizenship, in which identities are constructed through claims making.

But the link between identity and action is not limited to claims making in the public sphere. Civil society is not only the sphere where individuals can freely express opinions, endorse religious beliefs of their choice, and be granted autonomy and protection against arbitrary treatment. Indeed, in the present-day, an increasing proportion of initiatives and

tasks are assumed by social networks serving specific groups or by the whole collectivity. Sturmer and Kampmeier (2003) focus on a specific form of such a collective behavior, community volunteerism, which can be considered as a response to the transformation of the "Welfare" State and calls for new forms of solidarity. Volunteering is taken as an example of active citizenship in the benefit of society that demands social psychological explanations, in particular in terms of social identifications with the local community.

Further, embedded assumptions in citizenship discourses consists of what is decided, legitimated, ruled and regulated by the dominant voices in society. Central to the technologies of regulation are issues of identity, which complicate any formulation of citizenship. For example, the technologies of regulation that were explicit in the emergence of Kano identity are based on embedded policies with significant focus on patriarchal, religious, and Hausa mindset characteristics. It is not enough to be *in* Kano to be a Kano citizen, one has to *subsume* the soul of Kano itself.

Definitions of citizenship are therefore tied up in examining the intersections of identity, culture, politics, virtue, education, history, law and territory. The dissolution of borders and the transnational flow of individuals from one location to another has created a migratory corridor that enables individuals, families and whole clusters of people to relocate to another, of different, social and cultural environment. The integration of a new arrivals into a the community is not always without its challenges as the new arrivals have to cope with a series of social expectations often different from the ones they are accustomed to.

Identity Markers for Ethnicity

Green (2004) cites the two most commonly cited scholars on ethnic studies, David Horowitz and Anthony Smith to indicate that delineating ethnicity is fraught with difficulties. For instance, she cites Horowitz (1985: 17-18) claiming that ethnic groups are defined through ascriptive differences, i.e., those attributes of a group that are consciously used to distinguish themselves from other groups. These differences include color, appearance, language, religion, some other indicator of common origin, or some combination thereof. Further Horowitz emphasizes the inclusive aspect of his definition, where, as with Smith, there is no one overriding way to measure the existence of an ethnic group. Indeed, he singles out color, language and religion as indicators that cannot alone measure ethnic groups, writing for instance that linguistic differences may or may not be regarded as demarcating different ethnic groups. As Horowitz (1985: 50) notes, language differences often occur within ethnic groups along class and rural-urban divides, while many ethnic groups share the same language but view themselves as permanently distinctive; one could mention such famous examples of the Tutsi and Hutu of Rwanda and Burundi or Serbs and Croats in former Yugoslavia although in the past decade Serbo-Croatian has been officially split into Serbian and Croatian).

Similarly, Smith cites a myth of common ancestry as one of several characteristics of ethnic groups. Interestingly, among Smith (1991)'s ethnic characteristics - which include a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific homeland, and

a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population – there is no mention of language or religion. Indeed, (Smith 1986: 27) singles out scholars who "persist in regarding language as the distinguishing mark of ethnicity, a standpoint that leads to gross simplification and misunderstanding… Language is one of the most malleable and dependent cultural categories." Like Horowitz, Smith's definition does not contain any one element that could be said to be essential — except, perhaps, for a proper name — precisely because ethnicity comes in various shapes and sizes across time and space.

Unlike the quantoid scholar, the interpretivist scholar, on the other hand, throws his/her hands up at this multiplicity and complexity and instead chooses to employ a variety of definitions suitable to each case study Fearon and Laitin (2000: 4). This approach is used by a variety of scholars. For instance, many anthropologists are cautious in defining ethnicity outright, preferring to let their subjects define the term. One such anthropologist, Jack David Eller, claims that, rather than being "a single unified social phenomenon," ethnicity is actually a family of "related but analytically distinct phenomena" (Eller 1999: 7). An interpretivist approach is also apparent in much postmodernist and post-Marxist work. Such authors as Stuart Hall, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein claim that "ethnicity must be viewed as a plastic and malleable social construction, deriving its meanings from the particular situations of those who invoke it…Ethnicity has no essence or center, no underlying features or common denominator" (in Smith 1998: 204).

It is within this context that I want to show how *Kasar* Kano, referring to the territory of Kano, but specifically the

city itself, evolved as a result of immigration of various groups of people over the centuries – and yet which fused together to form a singular ethnic Hausa identity – arguing that ethnicity does has essence, center, underlying features and common denominators.

Hausa and the Question of Ethnic Identity

As Miles (1994) pointed out, traditionally, Hausa scholars have divided into two basic camps on the issue of Hausa identity. On the one hand are those for whom "Hausa" is primarily a linguistic designation and who minimize it as a cultural or ethnic category. They point to the substantial historical and religious diversity among the various Hausa-speaking peoples, seeing only language as a common point of reference. Thus M. G. Smith says that "Hausa is a linguistic term" and that "it is misleading in other contexts" 1959:239 - 40), and Polly Hill asserts that "Hausa is a linguistic not an ethnic term, and refers to those who speak the Hausa language by birth" (1972:3).

On the other hand are those scholars who, despite variations, perceive an underlying common ethnic denominator among those people whose native language happens to be Hausa. These include Guy Nicolas "The term 'Hausa' designates one of the most important ethnic groups of Africa…not all Hausa speakers are Hausa" (1975:399) and Abner Cohen "One of the best-known ethnic groups (in) West Africa is the Hausa" (1969:8).

Other anthropologists avoid this language/ethnicity dichotomy by claiming that Hausa is both — or neither. Thus Jerome Barkow (1973:186) writes: "Hausa (is) a term with two referents: first, Hausa is a language… second, it is a

civilization encompassing kingdoms, conquests, walled cities, an ancient literate tradition…" Frank Salamone (1971:337), wishing to avoid the standard definitional choice, claims that "many problems disappear if one regards 'Hausa' as a cultural term and uses other terms for various ethnic groups who share…in that culture…(The use of) 'Hausa' (as) a linguistic term presents one immediately with the problem of being misunderstood."

Further, Miles (1994) contends that the question of Hausa ethnicity is complicated by the existence in Hausaland itself of two competing standards of what constitutes Hausa identity. Traditionally, according to Hausa folklore and cosmogony, there are seven separate Hausa nations or "families," distinguished by their respective geographical origins. The Hausa Bakwai were considered the original Hausa States by virtue of being ruled by a son and six grandchildren of a ruler of Daura before 1000. These territories – which had no other language but Hausa – were Daura, Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Rano, Zaria and Biram (near Auyo in present Jigawa State). His other seven grandchildren from the son in Hausa Bakwai (from concubines not legally married to the son) became political leaders of territories referred to as Banza Bakwai (bastard seven) and these were Kebbi, Yawuri, Zamfara, Gwari, Jukun Kororofa), Nupe, and Ilorin Yoruba. Thus in Hausa mythology, a person claims to be Hausa if they can trace their descent from the Hausa Bakwai territories.

It should be pointed out, however, that the foundation of the political dynasties of these territories does not equate with their *ethnic* foundation. For instance, when Bagauda came to Kano, he found a well-established religious and commercial culture which had been in existence for hundreds

of years. He could not, therefore be the "founder" of Kano (see Smith 1970 for further elucidations on this). Nor could Bayajidda, Bagauda's grandfather from Daura be considered even the founder of Hausa states or Hausa people.

Kano Territory and Immigrant Influx, 1000-1500 CE

The Kano territory, blessed as it was as an agricultural fertile land, had always attracted immigrants. The legends of the origin of Kano (*Kano Chronicle*, *The Song of Bagauda*) all attributed the founding of the city-state at the foot of Dala Hill to a group of migrants from other parts of Kano territory, particularly Gaya – although all of the same ethnic group – Hausa. From the founding of the community of artisanal clans at the foot of Dala hill sometimes in 700, these inhabitants of what later became Kano city were referred to as Warjawa or Abagayawa. The legend of origin, Kano Chronicle, records the arrival and settlement of a person who eventually became Dala, and whom might have come from the Dahlak Archipelago, an island group located in the Red Sea near Massawa, Eritrea. This marked the first external migrant to the community, and significantly, he brought with him not only a religious concept – for the original inhabitants of Dala hill do not seem to have any formalized religion – but also a whole raft of new innovations in worshiping the deity. The fetish they eventually ended up worshiping was Tchunburburai, based on a tree, Shamuz. The accoutrements of the worship of the deity seemed to have significant similarities to Middle Eastern pagan beliefs – a walled enclosure for the fetish and specific worship days interestingly enough referred to as Eid days.

This state of religious affairs continued for many centuris, with the Tchunburburai priests holding sway in the increasingly prosperous community – and it was this prosperity of the small artisanal community that attracted often unwanted visitors to a community that had no standing army to defend itself. Further, economic wealth in any community creates rivalry and soon enough intense rivalry and competition erupted among the occupational clan heads. In order to prevent their community from internally imploding, the clan chiefs were however able to gather enough agreement among themselves to request for assistance from Daura, whose dominion they had anciently recognized. Their request was for someone to keep the peace among them (Dokaji 1959). A prince, Bagauda, was sent to provide Kano with military and political leadership in 1000.

Before Bagauda came from Daura, by way of Gaya according to the folksong (Hiskett 1964,1965a, 1965b) other people from Daura had settled at Gano and Debi in southeastern Kano as immigrant communities. This indeed might have provided a clue as to why Daura was chosen as the source for military support. Although he came as a peacekeeper, he eventually ended up becoming their leader and establishing a dynasty that was to last up to 1807 with the new Fulani dynasty that was the outcome of another group of migrant settlers, the Fulani.

Despite the claims of being descended from a prince of Baghdad, Abu Yazid Bayajidda) there was no historical evidence to show that Bagauda – or indeed Abu Yazid himself – was Muslim. Consequently, a parallel structure was established – a pagan cult worship by immigrants Dala and his descendents) and a new political culture by Bagauda –

with the ordinary Hausa caught right in the middle. The relationship between the two political leaders was certainly not cordial. As Smith (1997: 112) noted,

> When the question of intermarriage with the immigrants Daurawa) arose, the indigenous people Kanawa) decided against it. Thus the stockaded town came to include two endogamous collectivities, one of which, the indigenous people, reserved its ancient ritual to itself. Such chiefship as Gajimasu may have exercised was thus conditional, tenuous, and probably restricted to the immigrants. The autochthonous people preserved their collective cohesion by excluding the immigrants from cult and marriage.

This was during the rule of the third ruler of Kano from Bagauda, Gajimasu 1095-1134) – revealing a diehard suspicion to immigrants – despite the political and military stability they brought – which had lasted for over 100 years.

This mutual suspicion eventually exploded into open warfare leading to military campaigns by the subsequent rulers of Kano against the pagan worshippers, which ended in Tsamiya's reign when the most fiercest of the battles were fought and most of the indigenous population left the city of Kano to continue their pagan worships elsewhere.

The Islamic reforms of Mansa Musa in Mali 1312-1337, most memorable for his Hajj in 1326) created a large pool of Muslim Mandingo (Wangarawa) missionaries who became labeled the Dyula. Merchants to the core, these Muslim missionaries traveled from place to place spreading Islam. They arrived Kano in about 1380 during the reign of Yaji (1349-1385) who readily accepted Islam from them and ordered it to be the State religion. Kano became officially an Islamic State since that year. This marked the beginning of Islamic ascendancy in Kano, and the diminishing of pagan religious practices. The Hausa who refused to accept Islam

and maintained their religious identity subsequently became Maguzawa (those who ran away). Subsequent rulers in Kano strengthened the Islamic stand and this made Kano more attractive to other Muslim immigrants. According to the *Kano Chronicle*, the main source of the history of Kano,

> In Yakubu's (1452-1463), the Fulani came to Hausa land from Mele (Mali) bringing with them books on divinity and etymology. Formerly our doctors had, in addition to the Koran, only the books of the Law and the Traditions. The Fulani passed by and went to Bornu, leaving few men in Hausa land…At this time too the Asbenawa came to Gobir and salt became common in Hausaland. In the following year merchants from Gwanja began coming to Katsina; Beriberi came in large numbers and a colony of Arabs arrived. Some of the Arabs settled in Kano and some in Katsina. There was no war in Hausaland in Yakubu's time. He sent ten horses to the Sarkin Nupe in order to buy ten eunuchs. The Sarkin Nupe gave him twelve eunuchs Palmer 1908: 77).

It is significant that the arrival of the Fulani to Kano coincided with the arrival of Arab merchants from north Africa within the same time period. Both the two groups of migrants brought with them new ideas of scholarship, statecraft and mercantile capitalism. Their foreign – and clearly superior status in terms of wealth, knowledge and skills – made them an elite class within a community that was thirsty for knowledge and commerce. Using their elite status, the two groups remained more or less exclusive. As Smith (1997: 32-33) noted,

> Like Fulani, the local Arabs willingly accepted native women as wives or concubines while reserving their daughters for their kinsmen and fellow Arabs; but while Fulani exclusiveness helped to reinforce their specializations as pastoralists or as a closed intelligentsia in which Islamic learning and ideals were preserved and transmitted within lineages linked by kinship and marriage,

> among the Arabs ethnic closure enabled them to preserve their delicate and extensive commercial arrangements as a corporate ethnic monopoly. However they may have disapproved the local practice of Islam, as a protected group of alien merchants, these Arabs apparently withheld their comment and confined their public interests to the market and the caravan trade. Some adopted the local practice of slave farming in internally autonomous settlements under resident slave headmen. Occasionally, they served the chief or his treasurer, the Ma'aji, as scribes, creditors, commission agents or simply as translators and computers. As we have seen, they were also probably responsible for compiling and maintaining the local chronicle, whether with the ruler's support we do not know. Otherwise, they kept away from the court, and administered their community affairs after their own customs, as their descendants still do.

An irony in settler psychology and politics of belonging seemed to play itself here. While the indigenous Hausa refused to intermarry with immigrants from Daura; the new Fulani and Arab immigrants were not too keen to intermarry with any of the two groups.

By the time of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499) Islamic scholarship was massively boosted by more immigrant influx of clerics and scholars. Most notable were another group of Wangarawa clerics from Mali (Al-Hajj 1968, Lovejoy 1978), and the noted Islamic scholar Al-Maghili from north Africa. Kano therefore became a second home for many north African Arabs. As the German explorer Paul Staudinger reported in 1885 during the reign of Muhammad Bello (1882-1893):

> Kano is the capital of the richest and most flourishing province of present-day Hausaland. A tremendous quantity of treasures, that is according to the standards of the natives, lies stored within its walls…The reason for the prosperity of this metropolis is to be found…in the fact that Kano is the trade emporium for the whole

> of Hausaland and moreover the southern-most market of the Arabs. Perhaps sixty to eighty North Africans are permanent residents, but during the dry season several hundred of them live here. It is also then that huge caravans from different Tuareg tribes arrive with one of the most indispensable items of trade amongst all people — salt…So here is a confluence — all the articles of trade from the English and the French, from the Niger and the Benue, together with all the European and local articles which the Arabs bring…A good many of the skilled Semitic traders own permanent houses and live here married to natives from (Moody 1967: 35-53).

The increasing influx of the Fulani clerics and herdsmen into the Kano basin, attracted by Kano being a center of scholarship as well as a fertile land ensured that a significantly large number of Fulani settled in the territory. Thus gradually the Fulani and the Arabs merely became blended in the multi-ethnic mix of medieval Kano. And Kano did have that unique property: the ability to swallow up individuals and submerge their individual identities while providing them with a new one. The scholastic tradition the Fulani brought with them complement the efforts of the Wangarawa clerics and their descendents into further enriching the scholastic status of medieval Kano.

More Immigrant Influxes

The Arabs were by no means the only cultural and commercial influences on the emergence of Kano as a city-state. They just happened to be the most outstanding by virtue of bringing in foreign goods and practices. By 1770s the kola-nut trade has acquired a great significance as a commercial focus in the Bilad al-Sudan. In the Kano axis of the trade route, the trade was dominated essentially by three networks of

Agalawa, Tokarawa and Kambarin Beriberi. Because they operated on the same route and traded in the same commodity, they developed similar facial marks and were mainly endogamous (Lovejoy 1980).

The Agalawa and Tokarawa had Tuareg roots, while the Kambarin Beriberi had Bornu roots, although they seemed to have followed Sakkwato migratory corridor before settling in Kano territory and city. The Agalawa moved gradually southward from Sahel and Aïr Massif, eventually settling in clusters in Kano territory, with the largest being in the city. The Tokarawa also Bugaje or Buzaye) followed the same migratory pattern. Outside the city the Agalawa and Tokarawa were drawn to settlements like Kura, Garko, Bebeji, Bichi, Kumurya, Utai and Madobi.

In the city, the Agalawa and Tokarawa settled in wards like Sabon Sara, Darma, Bakin Ruwa, Koki, Dala, Salga, and Madabo. The Kambarin Beriberi were found in wards such as Dala, Madigawa, Mararraba and Sabon Sara.

The three trading communities remained distinct entities, although the Agalawa and Tokarawa often inter-marry; while inter-marriage between the two and the Kambarin Beriberi seemed rather rare (Lovejoy 1980). However, they were prudent enough to co-operate in the operation of the kola-nut trade to Gwanja in the Volta basin (present-day Ghana) which they dominated in the 19th century. Of the three groups, the Agalawa had the most capital, acumen and efficacious corporate structure. Thus when the British came in 1903, they readily adapted their long distance trading practices to blend in with the modern trade routes offered. Using the railroad and river transport systems, they merely accelerated the volume of their trade and

diversified their stock of commodities to include hides and skins and groundnuts amongst others.

Ethnic Compositions within the Inner city

The wards have been in the past and continue to be today the basic social units of Kano society. This is more so since the old wards boundaries and the present boundaries which have evolved from the old neighborhoods corresponded to the original pattern of settlement of the area. In other words, groups of migrants settled down in an area together and developed an integrated form of community structure. Many aspects of this original structure can be seen even today in the patterns of interaction of the peoples of the ward.

Thus before the end of 19th century, Kano has become a well-blended melting pot. In the nineteenth century, Kano City was not formally subdivided into wards, although there were sections of the city that consisted of particular ethnic, clan, or occupational groups.

The present boundaries of the wards were drawn in the 1930's by the British Colonial Administration, evidently after some consultation with the residents of the area. Before then, the city had been divided into 10 large wards, of which the present wards formed sub-sections. The original wards were: Cigari, Sarkin Shanu or Makama, Shetima, Jingau, Sheshe, Darma, Zango, Chediya, Madabo and Gwauron Duma.

Within these broad sections were subsections with distinctive characteristics which, to a large extent, became the wards of the twentieth century. Thus the Madabo area included Hausa clans and groups such as the Zaitawa, Dukurawa, and Sankawa which had migrated to Kano before

the jihad from Wangara. Chediya included the important Hausa area of Bakin Ruwa, a triangle stretching west from the market toward Gwauron Dutse and containing descendants of some of the original peoples of Kano. Chediya also contained most of the Arab quarter, and especially those Arabs who had left Katsina for Kano after the jihad. Sheshe was identified with a pre-Jihad migrant group from Birnin Shem, reputedly of Arab origin. Darma included several of the Fulani clans such as Kurawa and Yolawa, as well as the Sharifai area containing the descendants of the North African al-Maghili. This area also contained migrant groups of Nupe (Tudun Nufawa) and Tuareg (Agadasawa). The areas of Makama and Shetima, were principally the Fulani quarters (Paden, 1973: 19)

Thus while the Tripolitanian Arabs and Fulani settlers constituted a sizable influential group in transforming the cultural landscape of the emergent city-state, the centuries reputation of Kano as a center of trade, commerce and agriculture also attracted other groups, who all helped in the transformation of the society.

These groups were not in sufficient quantity to radically alter Kano's linguistic or anthropological characteristics; but they nevertheless played an important role in understanding the cosmopolitan nature of the emergent city-state before the turn of the century. It was trade that brought these people, and as such their contribution to the personality of Kano is quite immense (Perchonok 1972). Virtually all these groups, like the Fulani and Arabs before them, settled in the city, blended with the local populace and became integrated as Kanawa. Despite this plurality, however, it has been noted that,

> despite the fact that the peoples of the area have very diverse origins, the outstanding fact about them today is that they now form a close

> knit, homogeneous community with a great deal of stability over the past 100 years. Their present ethnic homogeneity is the first indicator of this. Today nearly everyone considers himself to be Hausa. The single exception in this case is Dambazau, which is unusual in that it is populated almost entirely by Sarkin Bai and his followers and relatives, who maintain their Fulani identity). Except for this ward, there is none in which the people claiming to be Hausa constitute less than 87%. In many wards it is as high as 90% of the population. The Fulani population is concentrated in Dambazau, which we have already noted, and in Masukwani and Jujin 'Yan-labu, with about 10% and 7% respectively. It is interesting to note that those wards historically were associated with Dambazau's founder Dabo and his followers. Here the evidence seems to support the historical tradition. The scattering of Beriberi in various wards also gives some support to the traditions of origin of some of the people, although generally speaking it seems that all Bornu identity has been lost by the great majority of descendants of the original immigrants. Nupe are concentrated, understandably, in Tudun Nufawa, with a few also in neighboring Makwarari, and also in Kwarin Mabuga. The percentage of other tribes represented is generally very small, and comes mainly from Niger, peoples like Asbinawa, Arabs and other commercial people, with a handful of Yoruba and others from Southern Nigeria (Perchonok 1972: 75).

The Yoruba provided the largest single group of settlers in the city. Indeed the Yoruba, just like the Nupe, had been long-term residents in Kano city, bringing kola nut, salt, potassium, fruits to Kano, and exchanging them for livestock, hides, skins, onions, spices, and pepper. These commercial links with the Kasuwar Kurmi in the city led to their settlement in Unguwar Ayagi. But like some of the Tripolitanian Arabs, when the British who came in 1903 introduced the railroad from Lagos to Kano in 1910, some of the Yoruba — wanting to take advantage of the cheaper railroad transport system, —

moved out of Unguwar Ayagi to Sabon Gari. Bako (1990) recorded the first person to move out as Alhaji Muhammadu Salihu Olowo in 1916. Thus of the 2,000 residents in Sabon Gari in 1921, about 1,478 were Yoruba (Bako 1990: 105). By then most were into the booming groundnut trade and haulage to the coastal areas. Edo immigrations started coming to settle in 1912 (Du-Sai 1986). The Igbo took longer to arrive because the railway links between the East and North was only completed in 1932 after the Makurdi Bridge over river Benue was built.

Trade, however, was not the only focus of the various ethnic clusters in the city. In the Greenhill survey of 1974, it was reported that

> In nearly all the wards we find some types of clubs and associations. The most common of these is the self-help club. This is generally made up of young men, often traders, for the purpose of helping each other in time of need. They take up collections in times of financial crisis, such as marriage, naming ceremonies, etc. In addition, many of these clubs also conduct some adult education and technical classes, some of them have a small dispensary for the use of people in the ward, and most of them engage in some sorts for civic activities. These commonly include periodic sweeping of the ward, repairing of fallen down houses, etc. As a large proportion of the membership of these clubs are traders, often they carry out activities specifically related to the problems of businessmen. For example, the members would collect money to aid a trader whose goods had been stolen or destroyed by fire or other natural disaster. Other types of clubs are strictly recreational, being mainly for football, table tennis, etc. There are also several types of ethnic organizations in the wards. In Dambazau, there used to exist until the Government decree banning tribal unions) the Dambazawa Youth Club, made up mainly of young educated men of the Dambazawa clan, resident in Dambazau. Their aim was to promote education among the members of the clan, and to encourage recalcitrant parents to send their children to school. There is also a Nupe Association *Jama'iyar*

> *Nufawa*), organized under the leadership of *Wakilin Nufawa* of Kano (Perchonok 1972: 77-78).

Thus nipped in the bud were attempts to form clan, linguistic or ethnic unions early enough that would act as the thin edge of the wedge and make people see each other through ethnic prisms. No doubt ethnic integration was achieved as a result of deliberate policies undertaken by some of the *Amirs*, particularly Abdullahi Bayero. According to one perspective,

> Abdullahi Bayero launched a policy of ethnic integration between the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe and Tripolitanians in Kano. Two methods were used. The first was through respected community leaders, especially the Mallams. The second was through the Sufi orders of Tijjaniya and Qadiriyyah which — except for an isolated hiccup here and there between adherents — enabled effective community integration by their transethnic character (Yahaya 1986).

A summary of some of the inner-city wards and their primary settlers or predominant ethnic grouping is given in Table 1, which brings out the paradox of Kano city: multicultural, multiethnic, multinational, yet homogenous. The preponderance of trading ethnic stocks Agalawa, Asbenawa, Adarawa, Tripolitanians clearly indicated the role commerce played in the settlement and ethnic composition of Kano.

The Politics of Belonging and "Son of the Soil" Syndrome

As we have seen, right from the beginning of migrant movement to the Kano basin, although migrants and settlers were willing to co-exist on commercial and religious matters, each kept a separate identity at the beginning. The identities,

however, merged and distinct Kano identify emerged. There are many reasons for this.

First the merger between Hausa and Fulani became easy because all Fulani share with Muslim Hausa an emphasis on agnatic descent and relationships in the allocation of jural status, inheritance, succession and liabilities. Moreover, as with Muslim Hausa, agnation entails no exogamy marriage outside of a specific group especially as required by custom or law) among pastoral or settled Fulani, whereas among the Maguzawa the original Hausa) and southern pagans agnatic descent groups are exogamous. This feature of their social organization accordingly serves to segregate the pagans from surrounding Muslims, both Fulani and Hausa. Lacking exogamous localized lineages ordered by prescriptive relations of descent, patrilineal kin groups among the Muslims, being subject to various situational pressures and contingencies, are labile in their boundaries, composition and social implications (Smith 1997: 28).

Secondly through time, Fulbe Fulani) linguistic expressions became closely identified with Hausa linguistic codes. It is difficult to say whether they evolved together or one was influenced by the other. For instance, like the Hausa, the Fulbe share certain accents in their language – particularly the accented hooked characters , e.g. b' e.g. b'araka, Fulb'e). No other immigrant groups has similar affinity to Hausa language.

Thirdly, Besides designations by provenience, many Fulani communities settled in Kano are also known by Hausa names which either allude to some specific event in the history of the group or misstate its correct Fulani lineage designation,

thereby assimilating its Hausa identification to the category of groups distinguished by reference to place.

Nor were the Fulani the only out-group assimilated by the Hausa. The north African Arabs were similarly assimilated totally into the cultural and linguistic universe of the Kano Hausa, such that the original Arab settler community in the city has lost most of its Arabic familial linguistic roots. The initial isolation enforced on themselves by their racial exclusiveness gradually became eroded over the centuries when contacts between the migrant settlers and the "motherland" became rare. They eventually became "sons of the soil" a typical Nigerian expression to indicate a sense of belonging to a territory.

Religion contributed principally to the development of the Kano Hausa mindset. Whether pagan or Islamic, religious doctrines did not contradict the base spiritual beliefs of the indigenous Kano population. As Talbot (1925: 181) pointed out,

> This great city Kano) was then almost at the height of its power and inhabited by a race not very different from the present Hausa, a virile people of some culture and organisation and great traders. As a rule the various invasions and influxes of tribes, many belonging to the same type as themselves, did not change the mass of the population but only the governing classes.

When Dahlak came with ideas of fetish worship, he was accepted, principally because there was no inherent contradiction between what he brought and what the clans and artisanal occupational groups had – which was literally, nothing since they had no organized form of worship.

By 1380 a distinct social and psychological personality had evolved as Kano Hausa. Encoded within their religious

practices were a series of behavioral traits that ultimately believed in a creator – even if worshiping Him through a fetish. The running battles between the religious authorities and the ruling class were more of power struggles over dominion and control, rather than battles to establish religious identity.

When Islam came it found a ready niche – both among the rulers in Kano who had had it with pagan worshippers, and the indigenous populace who possibly tired of the running battle between the two warring groups, were ready to accept an alternative faith. Islam succeeded principally because it posed no principal threat to the fundamental identity of the Kano Hausa. Indeed their mindset values as identified by Kirk-Greene (1974) were not only within Islamic expectations of behavior, but also part of their own indigenous training. These traits al'adu), among others, include *Gaskiya* (truth), *Amana* (strictly friendliness, but used to refer to trust), *Karamci* (open-handed generosity), *Hakuri* (patience), *Hankali* (good sense), *Kunya* (bashfulness), *Ladabi* (courtesy), *Mutumci* (self-esteem), *Hikima* (wisdom), *Adalci* (scrupulous behavior).

It is clear therefore religion was a strong factor in binding migrants and indigenous populations. Equally important is the interface between behaviors the new religion expects and the base behavior of the recipient peoples.

And yet even within the religious matrix, race played a strong factor in the emergence of Kano identity, and this particularly refers to the Arab immigration. Three distinct Arabs settled in Kano. The first were the Tripolitanian Arabs, mainly from Libya who arrived in the 1450s. The second were Yemenite Arabs specifically imported as migrant middle men for an Italian company to trade in skins and hides in Kano.

The first Yemenite arrival was Hassan Ali from Aden who settled first at Abuja Road House No J6 in former France Road, Sabon Gari in 1919, followed by Abdulmalik who later became a P.Z. agent. Al Halaf, another Yemenite came from Aden through Lagos and rail to Kano in 1928, and later encouraged others to follow him (Bako 1990, Adamu 1999). The Yemenite arrival in Kano was gradual, and a distinct racial divide was maintained by the new arrivals and their African hosts. Eventually, however, intermarriage became possible because both the Kano Hausa and the Yemenite subscribed to Sunni Islam. The Yemenite, from the demographic study of their familiar patterns, would, however, seem to prefer marrying Fulani women, while not giving their own daughters to Hausa men, and not marrying Hausa women. They preserve their own daughters for other Yemenites. Eventually this practice was not maintained, and now there are many Yemenite families with Hausa, Yoruba, Idoma and other familial ties – although in-group marriage remained predominant practice.

The third Arab migrants to Kano were the Lebanese. The first Lebanese whose migration was recorded by the colonial officers were two brothers who came to Kano from Lagos in 1903, although they did not settle in the territory until 1907 (Albasu 1989). However, the first migrant to settle permanently in Kano city was recorded as Seman Naoum in 1912. Like all the other Lebanese that were to follow, he was basically a trader in European goods.

The cultural aloofness of the Lebanese in early Kano were noted in the fact that when the British decided to implement the policy of racial separation and create their own reservation areas, the few Lebanese settlers applied for

permission to leave the city and settle in the European areas. The British refused to allow the Lebanese to be their neighbors. Instead, in "1913 an area consisting of twelve plots was marked out west of the railway for "colored traders", meaning the Lebanese." (Albasu 1989: 206).

This area eventually became the Syrian Quarters the entire stretch of present-day Ibrahim Taiwo Road in Kano, starting from Radio Kano and ending at El-Duniya/Kwanar Singa junction) in 1915 and a home to any non-European who wish to pitch his business in the area; although it was dominated by the Lebanese. Seman Naoum the first Lebanese to settle in Kano city, almost immediately moved to the new settlement — ending perhaps the shortest duration of migrant stay in the territory. Eventually more Lebanese arrived in Kano, but they were never fully integrated into the Kano ethnic identity in the same way the other Arabs were. There were three reasons for this.

First, most of the early Lebanese to Kano were Christians and had little empathy with the Muslim Hausa; plus they refused to stay in the city where they stand out, unlike other Christian African migrants (e.g. the Yoruba) who blended. Secondly, the subsequent Lebanese arrivals were Shiite Muslims – creating a wider gap between the predominantly Hausa Sunni Muslims and their own brand of Islam. Third, they simply did not consider the African population as part of their anthropological universe. The few that did marry Hausa women often ended up divorcing them when they get wealthy enough to get a wife imported for them from Lebanon (Albasu 1989). The Lebanese adopted this same strategy in other parts of West Africa where they settled.

Fouad Khuri (1968: 90) recounts such practices – and their consequences – as follows:

> The divorce of African wives by their Lebanese husbands, resulting from the latter's acquisition of wealth and the subsequent enlargement of their community, has created a mulatto group which recognizes itself to be neither African nor Lebanese but a separate, enclosed community. This is true of Sierra Leone, Guinea, Senegal and in other West African countries where children belong to the father's kin and where the conflict in cultural practices between the Lebanese and the Africans has alienated the mulattoes from both groups.

The conflict in cultural practices between the Kano Lebanese and the Kano Hausa was, as I said earlier, due to the Shiite/Sunni divide which is simply irreconcilable – even if both the sides are ready to accommodate each other's views.

Thus while the north African and Yemenite Arabs – strongly Sunni – gradually became assimilated into the Kano mindset due to cultural similarities see (Adamu 1968, 1998) and eventually even lost their language; the Lebanese Arabs remained aloof, isolated and consistently an out-group in Kano – by choice. Their position is to illustrate the first marketer in ethnic identity in the Kano region.

So what could have explained the Fulani jihad initiated by Shehu Usman Danfodiyo in 1804 and which led to the collapse of the Hausa dynasty in 1807 and its supplanting with a Fulani dynasty in Kano? From the available records, including the diary of the Jihad kept by the jihadist themselves Ado-Kurawa (1989), it could not have been religious. This was because Alwali, the last Hausa emir of Kano was a devout Muslim – indeed far more devout than the jihad leaders in

Kano at least in terms of demonstrable commitment to Islam (Khalil 1978, Smith 1997, Adamu 1999).

Consequently, these commentators see ethnic coloration in the cause of the Jihad in Kano, laying beneath an economic tension between the Fulani and the Hausa. If this is so, then it reflected the first large-scale ethnic conflict in Kano since the founding of the city almost two centuries earlier.

It is instructive that nowhere did the Shehu actually commanded the jihad leaders in Kano to declare any war on anyone. According to Adamu (1999: 62)

> The Shehu, having successfully exiled to Gudu on 21st February 1804, sent a series of circulars to first, Sarakunan Hausa imploring them to re-dedicate themselves to Islam, and shun un-Islamic practices. A second series of circulars were sent to all Muslims residing in Hausaland to perform the *hijrah* so that they can run away from persecution. Even though there were well-established, notable and highly scholastic Hausa clerics e.g. from the Madabo and Zaitawa faculties), it was not clear how the Shehu's second circular seemed to be perceived by the Fulani clansmen in Kano as being aimed specifically at them.

What followed subsequently was a full-scale war that led to the ouster of the Hausa king, Alwali, and his replacement with a Fulani ruler, Sulaiman in 1807.

Sabon Gari Factor in Kano Ethnicity and the Politics of Belonging

The arrival of railroad to Kano in 1911, and later the opening of the Kano International Airport in 1935, also brought with them many ethnic nationalities from what eventually became southern Nigeria and other countries in the former British West African colonies, such as Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia. As these nationalities came along with

their religion mainly, but not exclusively Christian, and culture different from that of the native population of the Emirate, a strangers' 'guests' quarters' called Sabon Gari (new town) was created for them in 1912.

The initial formal location of Sabon Gari was at the present Our Lady of Fatima Church, along Ilaro Road in 1914. But with more demands for plots, its epicenter shifted to what is now Abuja Road (former France Road). The Lebanese, by now demanding for separate residential area, preferably at Nassarawa, were offered plots at Sabon Gari which they rejected on the grounds that it was too far from the railroad yard, and thus limits their participation in the economy, through their lawyer and instituted what was probably the first law suit in Kano. They apparently won or the British could not be bothered to fight it out, and it was agreed in 1915 that they should be given their own resident areas.

Settlement of the new immigrants in Sabon Gari was further necessitated by the refusal of the then Sarkin Kano Abbas to allow any non-Muslims to reside within the perimeters of the Kano city walls. It seems that that ancient Kano penchant for cultural tolerance has reached its upper limit. But then in the hundreds of years of immigrant settlement, there do not seem to be records of settlers with a totally different religious or cultural orientation to the host community, except with the coming of the British and the lone Lebanese Christian who settled in Kano city in 1912.

Further, by colonial mandate the residents in the Sabon Gari in the colonial northern Nigeria were not under the jurisdiction of the emir, but the British. He had only power over his own subjects. This merely accentuated the religious,

ethnic and cultural boundaries cleavages between the indigenous population and the new immigrants (King 2003).

From this historical account of Kano, we could see that ethnicity is a social construction that indicates identification with a group which is often descended from common ancestors. Members of the group share common cultural traits such as language, religion, and dress) and are an identifiable minority within and are an identifiable minority within the larger nation-state.

Ethnicity is generally regarded as the most basic and politically salient identity in Nigeria. This claim is supported by the fact that both in competitive and non-competitive settings, Nigerians are more likely to define themselves in terms of their ethnic affinities than any other identity. Indeed, according to the authoritative 2000 survey on "Attitudes to Democracy and Markets in Nigeria", ethnicity "is demonstrably the most conspicuous group identity in Nigeria" (Lewis and Bratton 2000: 27). Thus, the survey found that almost one-half (48.2%) of Nigerians chose to label themselves with an ethnic including linguistic and local-regional) identity, compared to almost one-third (28.4%) who opted for class identities, and 21.0 percent who chose a religious identity (Lewis and Bratton 2000: 24-25). In essence, close to two-thirds of the population see themselves as members of primordial ethnic, regional, and religious groups. In other words, "Nigerians tend to cluster more readily around the cultural solidarities of kin than the class solidarities of the workplace" (Lewis and Bratton 2000: 25).

What is more, "religious and ethnic identities are more fully formed, more holistic and more strongly felt than class identities" as evidenced in the fact that "whereas those who

identify with religious and ethnic communities are almost universally proud of their group identities…those who see themselves as members of a social class are somewhat more equivocal about their pride" (Lewis and Bratton 2000: 26). All of this is not surprising, considering that ethnic formations are perhaps the most historically enduring behavioral units in the country, and were further reinforced by the colonial and post-colonial regimes. As Osaghe and Subero (2005: 9) argued,

> In the final analysis, it is clear that ethnic diversity cannot be defined only in terms of categories employed by linguists and ethnographers. There is also the whole dimension of self-definition by members of the group and outsiders, which is a much more important determinant of so-called ethnic-based behaviour. As much as possible therefore, the objective diacritic, which many scholars emphasize, should be consistent with the 'constructed reality', self-ascribed identities, or 'imagined communities' of members of the group and outsiders to be valid. This is one useful way of assessing the validity of the various estimations.

Conclusion

Thus for centuries Kano was literally an ethnic melting pot, absorbing and accommodating diverse tributaries of ethnic groups that converged on the city-state and lent its distinct character. I argue that such fusion of various ethnicities into a singular Kanawa identity occurred principally because the new immigrants share base cultural mindset with those they found. It was only after the arrival of British colonial administration in 1903 that Kanawa began to be aware of their ethnicities. Consequently, the "son of the soil" syndrome was a colonial construct. Even the Fulani jihad did not reveal any ethnic cleavage – after the war, it was business as usual in all respects, as the jihadist rulers soon became re-entrenched in Hausa mindset, including virtual abandonment of their

language. This created an ethnic irony in Kano in that many Kanawa may claim descent from Fulani, but could not speak the language at all.

Following colonial differentiations into religious and ethnic boundaries of the Kano territory, the subsequent political structures in the larger country of Nigeria merely emphasised the ethnic differences of the constituent units, such that the ethnic absorption into the Kanawa mindset characteristic of earlier centuries simply became impossible due to elite control of the political process. As Larry Diamond (1983: 470) argued,

> At one level of analysis, political conflict in Nigeria during the 1950s may be seen as largely the product of the convergence of ethnic, regional, and political cleavage. All of the major conflicts of the decade tapped at least one of these cleavages directly, and inevitably involved the other two in some form. But, as was the case with the regional and federal elections of the decade, other conflicts that appeared sectional were significantly rooted in class action. For the most part these were elite conflicts, even when they mobilized a mass base. They sprang from the struggle within the elite to control the narrow resource base of an underdeveloped economy and state, a struggle which, in becoming organized along ethnic and regional lines, ultimately infected the whole of political and social life in Nigeria.

Thus in cases of the mass base of ethnic conflicts, they were almost always, at least for the Kano region, ignited either by the political elite or by political processes outside the territory – for instance backlashes against similar action against the Hausa in other parts of the country. This can be illustrated by the first violent modern ethnic clash in Kano in 1953.

In 1953 political confrontation erupted in Federal House of Representatives with the introduction of a notion for independence from Britain in 1956. This motion was predominantly supported by southern Nigerian politicians.

The northern politicians, however, were skeptical of this due to the fact that their bureaucracy lacked enough indigenous manpower to sustain the civil service after independence. This was more because the bureaucracy, commerce and transportation systems – elements of modern economy – were controlled by southern Nigerians. Consequently northern Nigerian politicians blocked the motion – and they were insulted by street crowds in Lagos. To convince northerners to support the motion a delegation of southern Nigerian politicians traveled to Kano – sparking off four days of riots in Sabon Gari that left many people dead and injured – many of them Igbos Coleman (1958: 398-99). As Larry Diamond (1983:. 473) further analyzed,

> Southern elites sincerely saw the North as feudal and backward, a brake upon nationalist progress. And northern elites, both the reigning traditional rulers and the new generation of Western-educated nobility and allied commoners, sincerely perceived the prospect of southern domination as a threat to cherished cultural values and traditions and to the long-term socioeconomic interests of their people. But their attachment to Islamic values could not be separated from their commitment to the particular structure of power and privilege which Islam legitimated. Nor could their concern for their people's social and economic progress be divorced from their anxiety over the threat of southern penetration to their own careers. In short, the fuse for mass violence in Kano was elite conflict over not simply cultural and regional, but also class, interests.

It is clear therefore that the politics of belonging in any society is tied down to the degree with which the settler perceives an inter-relatedness between his cultural identity and the identity of his new community. The dilemma settlers face all the world is, do they retain their own identity, or do they give it up and

contribute to the new pool of identity with their host communities? The effective resolution of this dilemma could very well define the degree of integration of a multicultural society.

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Appendix

Table 1

Kano Inner City Wards and Ethnic Identity of Main Settlers[1]

S/N	Ward	Main Settlers
1.	Adakawa	Adarawa (Nigeriène)
2.	Agadasawa	Agadès Tuareg (Nigeriène)
3.	Aikawa	Kano Hausa[2]
4.	Akwa	Kano Hausa
5.	Alfindiki	Tripolitanians
6.	Alkantara	Tripolitanians
7.	Arzai	Tripolitanians
8.	Bakin Ruwa	Kano Hausa (*Black Pool*)
9.	Bakin Zuwo	Tripolitanians/Kanuri
10.	Cedi	Kano Hausa
11.	Cediyar Fero	Kano Hausa[2]
12.	Cediyar Kuda	Kano Hausa
13.	Cediyar 'Yan-gurasa/	Tripolitanians
	Cediyar Abba Kakumi	
14.	Chiromawa	Courtier (*Ciroma*)
15.	Ciranci	Courtiers[3]
16.	Diso	Fulani
17.	Dorayi	Kano Hausa
18.	Daganda	Courtiers
19.	Dala	Dahlak/Ethiopia/Gaya
20.	Danbazau	Fulani
21.	Dandago	Kano Hausa
22.	Dandalin Turawa	Tripolitanians
23.	Daneji	Fulani
24.	Darma	Katsinawa
25.	Daurawa	Daura
26.	Dausayi	Kano Hausa
27.	Dogarai	Kano Hausa
28.	Dogon Nama	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)

S/N	Ward	Main Settlers
29.	Dukawa	Kano Hausa
30.	Dukurawa	Tripolitanians
31.	Durumin Arbabi	Agadès Tuareg (Nigeriène)
32.	Durumin Daje	Courtiers
33.	Durumin Iya	Kano Hausa (Kutumbawa)[4]
34.	Durumin Kaigama	Bornuans
35.	Durumin Zungura	Kano Hausa
36.	Gabari	Bornuans
37.	Galadanci	Courtier (*Galadima*)
38.	Garangamawa	Chadians
39.	Garke	Wangarawa
40.	Gidan Sarki	Courtiers (The *Amir's* Palace)
41.	Gwangwazo	Gazarzawans (Maguzawa)
42.	Gyaranya	Kano Hausa (*cricket* insect)
43.	Hausawa	Kano Hausa
44.	Indabawa	Kano Hausa
45.	Jingau	Tripolitanians
46.	Jujin 'Yanlabu	Wangarawa
47.	Juma	Wangarawa
48.	Kabara	Malians (Timbucktans)
49.	Kabawa	Kebbi
50.	Kabuwaya	Kano Hausa
51.	Kansakali	Kano Hausa
52.	Kantudu Madabo	Wangarawa
53.	Karofin Gangamau	Kano Hausa
54.	Karofin Kangiwa	Kano Hausa
55.	Kududdufawa	Kano Hausa
56.	Kurawa	Fulani
57.	Kurmawa	Kano Hausa
58.	Kwarin Mabuga	Kano Hausa
59.	Kofar Wambai	Kano Hausa
60.	Kofar Dawanau	Kano Hausa
61.	Kofar Dukawuya	Kano Hausa

S/N	Ward	Main Settlers
62.	Kofar Gadon Kaya	Kano Hausa
63.	Kofar Kabuga	Kano Hausa
64.	Kofar Lunkwi/Kofar Ruwa	Kano Hausa
65.	Kofar Mata	Kano Hausa
66.	Kofar Mazugal	Kano Hausa
67.	Kofar Nasarawa	Kano Hausa
68.	Kofar Waika	Kano Hausa
69.	Koki	Bornuans
70.	Kwalwa	Kano Hausa
71.	Limanci	Courtiers
72.	Lokon Makera	Fulani
73.	Lollokin Lemo	Kano Hausa
74.	Madabo	Wangarawa
75.	Madigawa	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
76.	Madungurun	Kano Hausa
77.	Magashi	Kano Hausa
78.	Magoga	Nupe
79.	Mai-Aduwa	Tripolitanians
80.	Makafin Kofar Wambai	Gazarzawans (Maguzawa)
81.	Makwalla	Kano Hausa
82.	Makwarari	Kano Hausa
83.	Malam Ganari	Bornuans
84.	Mandawari	Wangarawa
85.	Manladan	Nupe (**Mala**n **Ladan**)
86.	Mararraba	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
87.	Marmara	Kano Hausa
88.	Masukwani	Fulani/Kanuri
89.	Mazan Kwarai	Kano Hausa
90.	Rijiya Biyu	Tripolitanians
91.	Rijiya Hudu	Kano Hausa
92.	Rimin Kira	Kano Hausa
93.	Sabon Sara	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
94.	Sagagi	Jukunawa
95.	Sanka	Tripolitanians

S/N	Ward	Main Settlers
96.	Satatima	Bornuans
97.	Sharfadi	Tripolitanians
98.	Sharifai	Tripolitanians
99.	Shatsari	Tripolitanians
100.	Shehe	Kano Hausa[5]
101.	Shirawa	Azare
102.	Soron Dinki	Courtiers
103.	Sudawa	Sudanese
104.	Takalmawa	Kano Hausa
105.	Tudun Makera	Tripolitanians
106.	Tudun Nufawa	Nupe
107.	Tudun Wada	Kano Hausa
108.	Tudun Wuzirci	Fulani
109.	Unguwar Ayagi	Yoruba
110.	Unguwar Gini	Kano Hausa
111.	Warure	Wangarawa
112.	Wudilawa	Fulani
113.	Yakasai	Jukunawa
114.	Yalwa	Agalawa (Nigeriène Tuareg)
115.	Yola	Fulani
116.	'Yan Tandu	Kano Hausa
117.	'Yandoya	Bornuans
118.	'Yanmuruci	Kano Hausa
119.	'Yan Awaki	Kano Hausa
120.	'Yar Kasuwa	Kano Hausa
121.	Zage	Wangarawa
122.	Zaitawa	Wangarawa
123.	Zango	Azben (Aïr Tuareg), Bornuans
124.	Zangon Barebari	Bornuans

Notes to Table 1

The settler information based on research by Dr. Muhammadu Uba Adamu and documented in his *Confluences and Influences: The Emergence of Kano As a City-State* Kano, Munawwar Books Foundation 1999). The *list* of the ward was modified from Hussain Sufi, *Mu San Kam Mu*, Kano: Mainasara Printers, Kano 1993.

1. The reference to *Kano Hausa* in the ethnic compositions of the ward is to mask the multiple nature of the Hausa residents. Quite a few of them came from rural Kano from notable settlements such as Rano, Takai, Kumbotso and so on. It would render the table more incomprehensible if the individual origins of the main Kano settlers are to be indicated.
2. Alhaji Maje, the Kano Ward genealogist does not seem to have this ward in his references; however, other oral sources do identify Chediyar Fero as existing in Kano; perhaps with different names. Indeed, it seems to be located near 'Yan Awaki and Kofar Wambai. See, P. J. Jaggar, Kano City Blacksmiths: Pre-colonial Distribution, Structure and Organization, *Savanna*, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1973, pp. 11-26. Jaggar refers to it as Chediyar *Pera*.
3. "Courtiers" refers to the main population of the ward as being from the house of the ruling dynasty, i.e. high palace officials and their retinue.
4. It is something of a historical curiosity that Durumin Iya ward contains the descendents of the sacked Kutumbawa dynasty. Many people still accord the direct descendents of the dynasty with some degree of highly regarded respect.
5. It would seem that Sheshe was originally attributed to Wangarawa settlement. But *the Wakar Bagauda* listed one of the early settlers of Kano in Antiquity a hunter named *Sheshe* — hundreds of years before the arrival of Wangarawa. The Wangarawa association was due to the establishment of a Madabo faculty at Sheshe, with the sheikh being referred to as *Malam Na-Sheshe*, which later became reverted to its original Sheshe.

CHAPTER TEN

Gida: The Socio- Cultural Ethos of the Kano Urban House

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Introduction

It is appropriate to start by clarifying what may seem too presumptuous in equating the Hausa house with the Kano house as alluded to in the title of this paper. It is an established fact that Kano is the one Hausa city, which is a pot-pourri of sorts, an amalgam per excellence, and apparently the Hausa city with the highest number of non-Hausa people. But that is precisely what Hausa culture is all about. To begin with Hausa culture is highly urban, and few will argue with the statement that Kano is the most urban and the most urbane of the Hausa cities. Also it is generally accepted that Hausa culture is highly assimilative and consequently highly dynamic. Nowhere in Hausa land is this assimilative process more marked and obvious than in Kano. In Hausaland therefore, Kano is the place to be if one wants to get a head. The great Hausa poet laureate, Mu'azu Had'ejia has to say about the city;

Kano Ta Abdu Sha Yabo
Akwai Shi Can Zubo-Zubo
Domin Fad'a Ta Gaskiya
Duk Wanda Ke Bid'ar Yabo
Ka Tabbata Fa Modibbo

Meaning:
Kano (the city) of Abdu, full of praises *Any That His Fortune Seeks*
Therein He Wily-Nily Resides Of That You Can Be Certain, Sir
Forsooth It Is The Truth.[1]

One can therefore safely conclude that Kano is aptly representative of Hausa culture and one would hardly be wrong in using what obtains in Kano to generalize about the Hausa. After all do not Kano people say, '*Garin da ba Kano ba Dajin Allah*?[2]

The aim of this paper is to attempt to establish the basic socio-spatial characteristics of the Hausa domestic architecture and to show how the resulting environment is supportive of the Hausa-Islamic culture. To this end the paper will look at the physical aspects of the house and the socio-cultural aspects of the house.

Physical Aspects of the House

Several characteristics contribute towards the physical aspect of the house. In particular the spatial disposition of the house, that is what kind of spaces are there and what are their characteristics and also, the material of construction, that is what components and methods of construction were used in erecting the structure of the house, resulting in its distinctive and recognizable form.

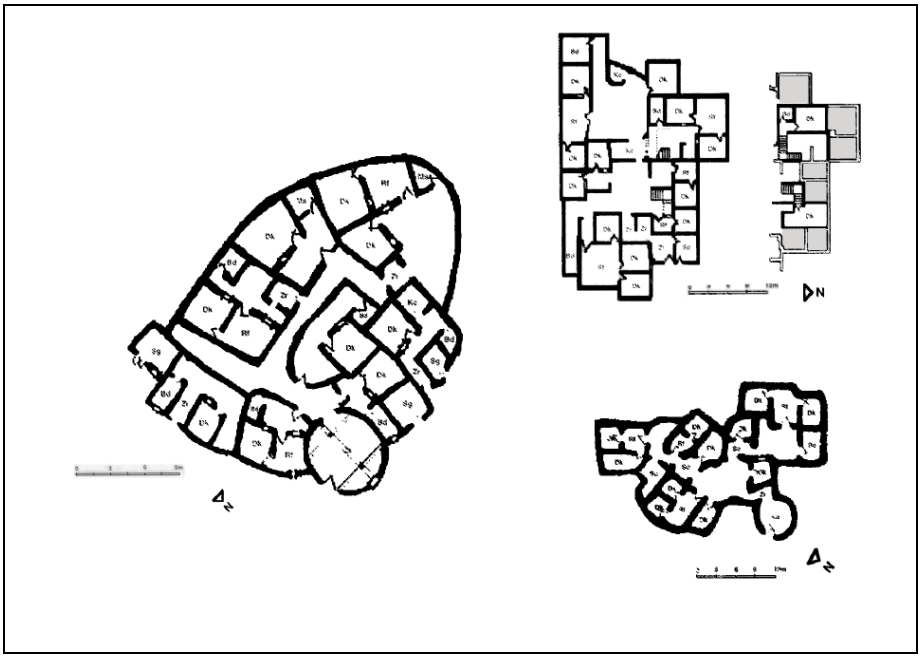

Figure 1: Kano Urban Houses
Source: Muhammad-Oumar (1997)

Data was collected on a sample of 200[3] domestic houses from the 4 administrative sectors that make up the city. After examining the data, certain salient features become evident. Certain physical aspects are common to all houses whereas others are variable depending upon the family size or house location. To begin with no two houses are the same however close because domestic houses in old Kano come in various sizes and shapes; every house is unique. There are no formula houses (**Figure 1**).

Secondly, certain space types are found in every house regardless of its size, location or the income group it belongs to. These spaces are the entrance hall *zaure*), the courtyard

tsakar gida), the room *d'aki*). These three space, *zaure,* courtyard and *d'aki* together with a function-specific service space, the *band'aki* or toilet, are found in every house in the sample. They constitute what may spatially be termed 'universals'. In simple terms no house is fully constituted if any one of these space is missing. The number, shape and sizes of these spaces vary considerably, and generally the number of these spaces relate to the number of families in the house, whereas their sizes relate more to the income group the houses belong to then to anything else. Shape on the other hand, quite expectedly relate to the construction components and methods.

There are three other basic space types in the house, namely the outer yard (*k'ofar gida*), the inner hall (*rumfa*) and the cooking place (*d'akin girki*). These are not 'universals' in that there are many houses in the sample that are without one or even all of these spaces. To be precise, of the houses in the sample only about 33% have *k'ofar gida* or outer yard, while about 87% have *rumfa* or inner hall.

Third, there are wide variations in the total floor area across the sample, however the magnitude of the total floor area per house in general, bears little relation to the number of people in the house. This is also the case with the relationship between the sizes of the main functional spaces and the population of the house. In spite of this it was discovered that the total *d'aki* area is generally the best predictor of the number of occupants per house. On the other hand there is almost no relation between the dimensions of the *zaure* and the number of house occupants. Thus confirming what is known intuitively that the size and number of the *zaure* has

less to do with purely utilitarian considerations and more to do with wealth, power and social position.

There is some consistency in the relationship between total floor area and the size of the family, generally the number of persons in a house relates poorly to its superficial size, and more to the number of families it contains. The number of families accommodated per house varies from 1 to 8 families. Most of the houses though are single family, single story dwellings. The number of persons per house is on the

City Sector	Construction				Finish				Roof		
	Adobe %		*Concrete %*	*Mixed %*	*Cement Screed. %*	*Cob*	*Cement Plaster. %*	*Mixed %*	*Azara %*	*Corr. Iron %*	*Mixed %*
	Tubali	*Burgi*									
The City N=160)	51.25	33.12	7.500	8.130	80.63	3.750	7.500	5.000	52.50	16.25	31.25
North N=35)	42.86	51.42	2.860	2.860	91.43	-	2.860	5.710	74.29	8.570	17.14
East N=55)	60.00	21.82	12.73	5.450	87.27	-	12.73	-	52.72	23.64	23.64
South N=40)	45.00	32.50	7.500	15.00	67.50	7.500	7.500	17.50	32.50	17.50	50.00
West N=30)	53.33	33.33	3.340	10.00	73.33	10.00	3.340	13.33	53.33	10.00	36.67

average 13, however the number of persons in a house relates more to the number of families in the house than to anything else.

In the same vein, about two-thirds of the houses in the sample have room occupancy rate of between one and three persons per *d'aki*. However the mean for the sample is 2.67. Room occupancy rate has thus almost doubled from an average of 1.40 in 1963 Trevallion (1967) indicating an increase in urban population and a consequent decrease in housing

conditions. Despite this development, there is no overcrowding, real or imagined.

Looking at the data collected four broad construction types based on how walls are constructed and finished and how rooms are roofed could be identified. As can be seen from **Table1**, wall construction is either of adobe (about 85%) or concrete (7.5 %), with the rest (8.130 %) a mixture of the two. Wall finishes are either cob or cement screed on adobe wells while cement plaster is used on concrete walls.

Table 1: Sample House Construction

The table also shows that about 80% of the houses are finished with cement screed plaster regardless of the type of brick used for construction, be it concrete, *tubali* or *burgi*[4].

However only about 4% of the houses built with adobe are finished with cob plaster, the traditional wall finish. On the other hand all concrete block houses are finished with a cement plaster. Houses of mixed construction quite expectedly have finishes commensurate with their construction materials.

There are two basic roof types namely the traditional roof construction and the contemporary roof construction, the former is done using corrugate date-palm called *azara*), as beams or rafters, and this could be arched or flat, while the latter is done using corrugated iron sheets. A little more than half of the houses were roofed with *azara*, but only about 16% of the houses are roofed wholly with corrugated iron sheets. The remaining houses, which constitute just less than one-third of the total, have mixed roofing that is some parts are roofed with corrugated iron sheets and other parts with *azara*.

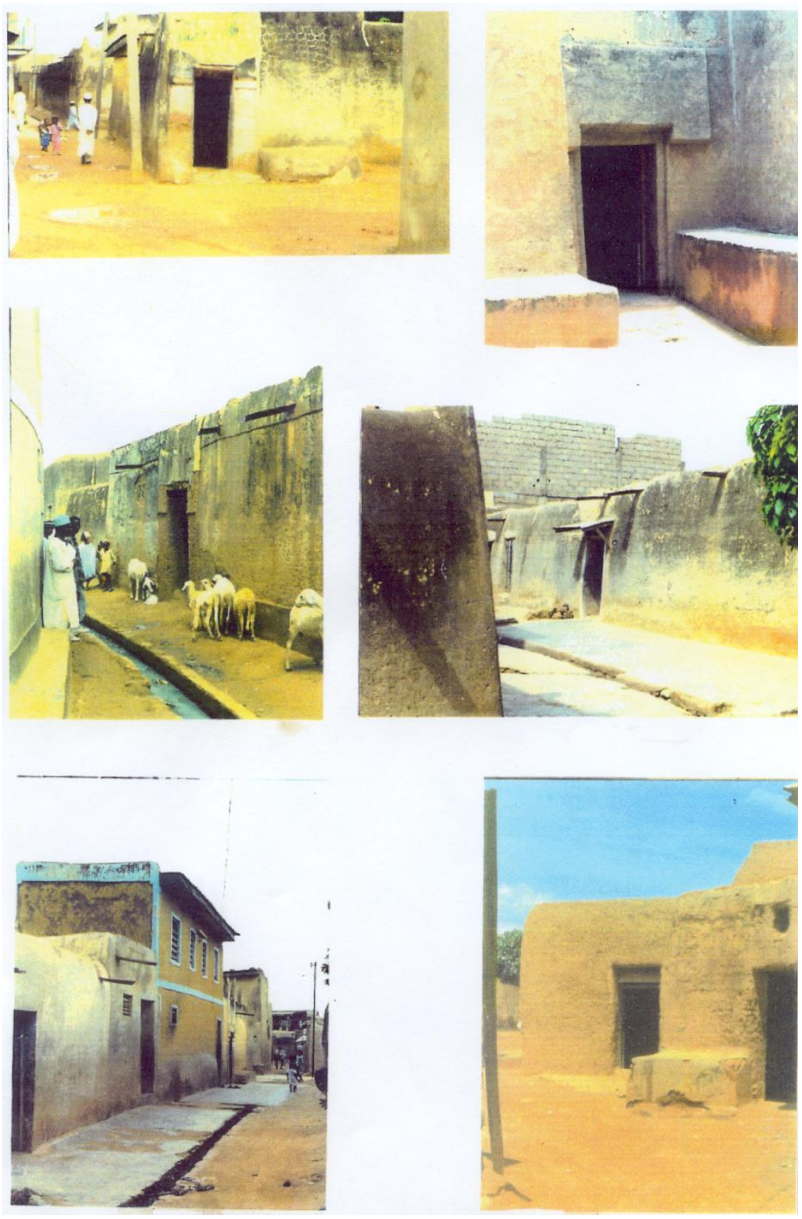

Figure 2: Kano Houses Facades

Source: Muhammad-Oumar (1997)

In general most of the houses in the sample are of adobe (*tubali*) construction, azan roofing and cement-screen finishing. What is particularly worth noting is the fact that these construction types are to be found in every part of the city (**Figure 2**).[5] The persistence of the use of adobe is indicative not only of its viability as a construction material but also its feasibility from an economic point of view.

Socio-Cultural Aspects of the House

Next the actuality of the house is explored by examining certain socio-cultural dispositions, to wit the quotidian use of functional spaces (Howell SC & Tentokali V 1989) and the locus of the house within in its socio-culture context.

Table 2: Summary of House Ownership Pattern

City Sector	Means of Possession or Occupation %			
	Inherited	Purchased or constructed	Granted	Rented
North	71.43	22.85	2.860	2.860
East	72.72	14.50	9.095	3.640
South	67.50	20.00	7.500	5.000
West	73.33	20.00	6.670	0.000
The City	**71.25**	**18.75**	**6.870**	**3.130**

From a scrutiny of the data five means of possessing and or occupying a house were identified, namely inheritance, purchase, new construction, rent and grant A summary of the means of ownership or occupation is presented as **Table 2**. From this it is easy to see that most of the houses forming the

sample are owned by one of the inhabitants of the house, who may or may not be *maigida*, that is, the household head[6]. In about three-quarters of the cases possession of the house was through inheritance, regardless of the location of the house in the city. This is not surprising since as note above many houses fragment at the death of the *maigida*[7]. The next means of possession is purchase or new construction, which accounts for the ownership of approximately 19% of the houses in the sample. Only about one-tenth of the houses were occupied by those who did not own them. Of these about 7% were on grant[8], while the remaining 3% were rented houses[9]. Thus in the walled city, we have a unique situation where house ownership, individually or collectively is about 90%. This figure should be noted since it has significant implications for administrators, urban planners and sociologists.

Next we turn to the occupants' social co-habitation. A summary of the information collected on the socio-cultural characteristics is presented as **Table 3**. It is seen from this that overall about 30% of the inhabitants of the houses have their relatives living close by, in many cases adjacent or across from the road or alley, as the case maybe[10].

Table 3: Summary of Socio – Cultural Characteristics

City Sector	Social Cohabitation % With Kin Nearby)	Inhabitants Perception				
		Dwelling Satisfaction %			Location Satisfaction %	
		No Modification	Spatial Modification	Physical Modification	Relocate Ward	Relocate City
The City	**30.63**	**13.33**	**19.37**	**76.50**	**77.50**	**21.87**
North	31.43	17.40	5.710	77.14	80.00	20.00
East	30.91	9.100	27.27	63.63	63.63	36.36
South	27.50	22.50	17.50	60.00	87.50	12.50
West	33.33	3.330	23.33	73.33	83.33	16.66

That about one-third of one's Neighbours are relatives, real or assumed is not surprising given that most of the houses surveyed came to be owned by the occupants through the act of inheritance. As it is well known the Islamic laws of inheritance (Qur'an 4:11-14 & 176), tend to sub-divide rather than aggregate estate by apportioning a definite and proportionate share to every offspring from the estate of deceased person.

From the same table it is seen that on average only 13.13% of the respondents found their homes satisfactory in most respects. Most of the respondents then were not satisfied with their houses. When questioned about the aspects of their houses not satisfactory, the majority of respondents, on average 76.50%, were dissatisfied with the physical aspects of their houses. Generally, the dissatisfaction expressed with the physical state of the houses relates to the roof, the wall material, the flooring and the wall finishes, in that order[11]. Thus most of the respondents would rather have their houses rebuilt with cement blocks, roofed with corrugated iron sheets and finished with oil-based paints on cement plaster. The least many would settle for, is to have their roofs covered with corrugated iron sheets. The reasons given for this preference are the durability of these building materials, the ease of maintenance and their modernity or fashionableness. Significantly only about 19% of the respondents mentioned spatial quality, i.e., the arrangement, location and orientation of the principal functional spaces within the house and not one respondent gave climatic comfort[12] as the reason for preferring the new building materials.

Regarding the location of the respondents' respective houses it is seen that more than three-quarters of them would

prefer to move to another ward, albeit within the city. The main reason given for preferring these areas to the city wards is what the respondents term the restrictiveness[13] of the city wards.

To conclude this part of the paper we now look at the pattern of quotidian space utilization. The pattern of daily space use is an indicator of the powerful mutual dependence of behaviour and space; space is defined according to, what Hillier and Hanson (1984:184) termed, the inner social logic of the society, but behaviour is also circumscribed by space (Hall 1959; 1966). To paraphrase one scholar Sack 1980:70), to know what occurs in a place is to understand the value and significance of the place.

It is extremely difficult to list all the activities that take place in a domestic environment, but in essence domestic space could be defined as that physical space shared by family members for the purpose of eating, sleeping living, socializing and in some cases even working. Domestic activities generally fall into two major groups, those that reflect social habits and those concerned with economic production. Activities concerned with the latter are relatively easier to distinguish from those concerned with the former.

Out of the myriad activities possible in a domestic setting, several usually stand out as the most common for a given milieu (Bechtel 1989: 169-171). Within the context of Hausa culture the predominant domestic activities are, religious or educational, personal hygiene, grooming, household maintenance, activities to do with nutrition, economic, recreation, socializing, sleeping and procreation. For the purpose of this paper only the use of space in relation to reception, living, eating and sleeping, out of the several

possible activities were enquired upon and these are looked at from three main perspectives, namely, function, gender and age group.

Table 4: Sample Response on Quotidian Space Use

No	Space	**Reception**		**Living %**			**Eating %**			**Sleeping %**		
		M	F	M	F	C	M	F	C	M	F	C
1.	Zaure	86.69	00.00	59.45	0.490	20.94	47.73	00.00	10.50	12.29	00.00	19.81
2.	**K/Gida**	9.350	00160	8.950	2.250	2.810	10.55	0.670	2.250	9.790	1.890	00.20
3.	**T/Gida**	00.00	5.660	1.550	39.64	53.35	1.420	25.37	47.62	00.00	9.790	6.720
4.	**Rumfa**	1.700	36.76	7.840	40.49	16.76	10.10	46.85	27.00	4.540	21.50	21.97
5.	**D'aki**	2.260	57.42	22.21	17.09	6.240	30.20	26.98	12.63	73.38	66.82	51.48
6.	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
7.	X*	5	5	4	4	12	6	6	11	6	6	11
8.	Y**	155	155	156	148	154	154	149	154	154	154	149

***X: Nil Response**

****Y: Positive Response**

Table 4 is a summary of the response on quotidian use of the space abstracted from the response to the questions on the quotidian use of space (Muhammad-Oumar op.cit.) Several things are easily discernible from it. First, it is seen that the dominant spaces are either gender specific or gender restricted; spaces that are predominantly used by a particular sex and rarely if at all, by the other sex are termed gender specific (Kent 1992: 6); spaces utilized by either sex depending on the time, the occasion and even the location are termed gender restricted. Thus for instance the *zaure* and the *tsakar gida* are basically gender specific while the *rumfa* and the *d'aki* are basically gender restricted.

Second, none of the dominant spaces is mono-functional; on the contrary these spaces are for the most part multi-functional. Thus the *k'ofar gida* is used for receiving guests, as much as it is used for sleeping. Likewise the *d'aki* is

used for living, irrespective of gender or age, almost as much as it is used for eating.

Third, there is no dominant space that is not utilized by children. If one assumes a balanced use of service spaces by the inhabitants then, the use of space by children is more evenly distributed than that by adults.

It is also possible to discern from the same table how in general terms the principal characters utilize the main functional spaces. First, it is seen that males use the *zaure* more than any other space for the major activities, except sleeping for which they utilize the *d'aki* the most. Conversely in every case they utilize the *tsakar gida* and the *rumfa* in that order) the least. Secondly, it also becomes evident that for the four major activities females generally use the *rumfa* and the *d'aki* the most, and the *zaure* and the *tsakar gida* in that order) the least. Thirdly, it can also be seen that the use of space by children exhibits a pattern that is markedly different from that of the adults. For children the *tsakar gida* and the *rumfa* are the most utilized, whereas the *k'ofar gida* is the least used.

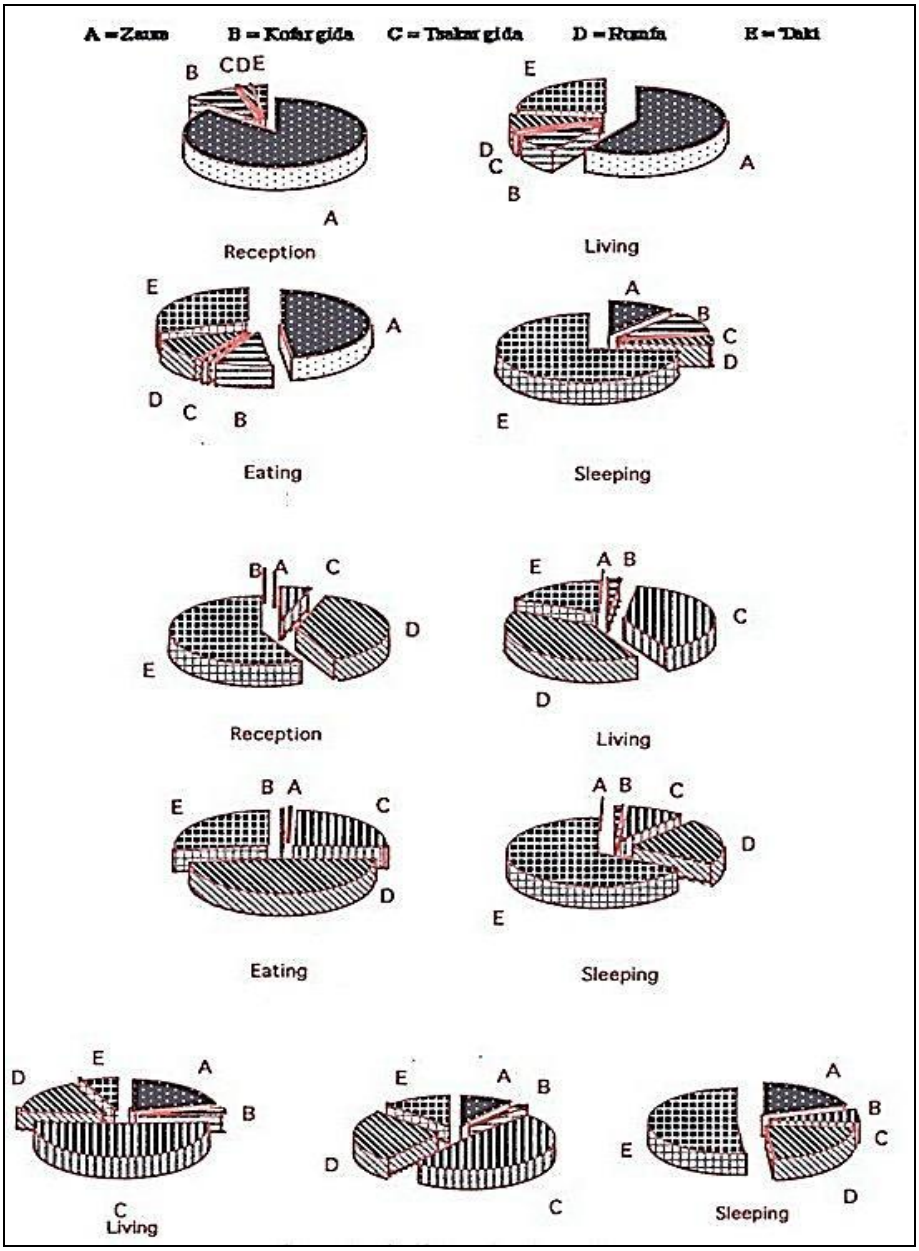

Figure 3: Quotidian Use of Space

From the foregoing one could see that the *zaure* and the *k'ofar gida* are clearly male controlled spaces while the *tsakar gida* and the *rumfa* are female controlled spaces. On the other hand the *d'aki* is broadly speaking bipartite, even though for the most part, that is the waking hours; it is principally occupied and used by the female. Another inference considered highly significant, is not immediately noticeable from the data. This is the observation that there seems to be an interesting relationship between age and the use of space; the older the child becomes, the more their pattern of space use becomes dependent on their gender.

In sum then one could safely conclude that the 4 quotidian activities delineated are neither socially convergent nor co-extensive despite the fact that in many cases they are spatially coterminous. is very similar to that exhibited locally, that is the city in its constituent parts. Most male quotidian activities, with the exception of sleeping, take place in the outer parts of the house while females use the inner parts of the house. On the other hand children's quotidian activities are more evenly spread depending on their age (**Figure 3**).

Theoretical Framework

Having said and done all, could one posit a house that is a realization of the essence of all the above abstractions? In other words can we use the basic principles delineated from the analysis to come up with a design of a house that will, mutatis-mutandis, meet with the approval of *Mallam Bahaushe*?[14]

To meet with the approval of *Mallam Bahaushe*, the house has to fulfill two basic preconditions. Firstly, as it was brought out in the analysis the majority of the Hausa houses

accommodate single families. Even in houses where there are more than single families almost invariably these families have agnate relations, except where the house is a rooming house. This is true most especially in the big Hausa urban areas like Kano.

In the minimal stage it contains the four "universal" Hausa domestic functional spaces as enumerated above, namely the *zaure* entrance hall), *tsakar gida* courtyard), *d'aki* room) and *band'aki* toilet). More often than not it may also have one non-universal but dominant functional space, which is the *rumfa*. More importantly it has a considerable size of *sheka* or unbuilt reserve space. What is interesting to note is that the ratio of the *sheka* to the built up area is approximately 3:1 (Muhammad-Oumar 1997: 256).

Figure 4: Four Stages of the Hausa House

In the prevalent stage the house expands to contain one other dominant functional space, namely the *d'akin girki* (cooking place). In addition there are two more room suites to include another dominant functional space, that is the *k'ofar gida* (outer yard), two more outer halls *zaure* p1 *zauruka)*, at least one other room suite, a new *d'akin girki* (cooking place) and one other toilet. It re-configures such that a private apartment is carved out for the *maigida* the house-head) containing three functional spaces; what used to be the second *zaure* in the prevalent stage which now becomes the *turaka*, a private chamber for the *maigida*) what used to be the only toilet in the minimal stage, and a private open yard called sauri. In addition what used to be a room suite in the prevalent stage converts into an inner hall (*soro; pl soraye*.) and an outer *d'aki,* while what used to be the cooking place now becomes an outer toilet.

In the optimum stage the house grows to include an upper storey with one or two room suites as the case may be. What should particularly be noted is that the stages are not uni-directional. In other words much as it is possible to find a case where a house grows from the minimal to the optimum stage, it is also perfectly possible to envisage a case where the house starts at the optimum stage and contracts to the minimal stage for any number of reasons. One other thing that needs pointing out is that, where necessary a well is an integral part of the Hausa house and could be found in any and every one of the stages enumerated.

Secondly, although traditionally the Hausa use adobe as a building material and wood for building components like doors and roofs, the house could be built at every stage using other than these traditional materials. It could also be

constructed using any combination of building materials and components.

Finally, it should be remembered that the final form the house takes would naturally depend on the spatial dimensions and the building materials and components used to construct it. From the foregoing one could begin to appreciate what the Hausa term as *gida* plural *gidaje*). In its generic form it simply means house, but it also means home; building; family; household; place; world; portion and settlement. To the Hausa man his *gida* is more than his castle since it is not meant to awe or impress but to serve as his identity as well as the embodiment of his aspirations. Its basic characteristics entail all that is necessary for the establishment and the sustenance of the Hausa way of life. To him, a person who lacks a definitive association with a *gida,* lacks also a culture.

Notes

1. This is the opening stanza of his epic poem, *Tutocin Shehu Da Waninsu*"
2. Meaning, "A city other than Kano is but mere jungle"
3. Due to certain restrictions only the data of 160 houses were used.
4. *Tubali* is the conical brick, while *burgi* is the rectangular brick. Both are made of sun-dried adobe. House built with *burgi* are usually though not always, more acutely linear than those built with *tubali*. In addition their walls tend to have comparatively more uniform thickness as opposed to *tubali* walls that taper accurately at the top See Daldy 1945 & Moughtin 1989). In a few cases the wall finishes have been eroded by weathering enough for the construction bricks to show.
5. The absence of cob finishes in the north and east sectors should be understood as a statistical anomaly.
6. Out of these, four houses are owned by females; two of whom are widowers, one a divorcee and the other married.
7. Also when a certain critical level of growth is reached. This could also happen when siblings part company for any number of reasons and decide to found their own houses.
8. An is the Hausa term for this. It is a kind of permission to live gratis in a house, with or without the obligation to maintain it. This can be for a specified period, for as long as the owner is not in need of the house, or even for as long as the tenant is alive.
9. These figures represent only those houses that were wholly granted or rented. It does not take into account the many cases were a DAKI, or even a section is granted or rented to someone, nor does it take into account the almost universal custom of allowing unmarried non-agnate male adults to live in the main ZALA or secondary AUD.
10. The question asked was on the blood relationship *dangantaka*) with the neighbor
11. Although nothing is said about building components like doors and windows, yet it is understood that these have to change commensurate with the materials of construction.
12. When this was pointed out to a few of the respondents, most of them waved it as not important. In their opinion this is not a

problem given enough means to install and maintain the machinery capable of changing and controlling micro-climate

13. The actual response in Hausa is, "*rashin wadatar waje*". This could mean in the context, inaccessibility, lack of adequate space, spatial constriction or even lack of comfort.
14. The equivalent of the English Mr. Average.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Colonialism and the Growth of the *Sabon Gari* System in the Early 20th Century Kano

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In a paper entitled: "The Sabon Gari System in Northern Nigeria"[1], Professor G.O. Olusanya attempted not only to make a masterful synthesis of the fragmentary colonial sources that preceded him, but also to shed new light on the origins and essence of creating the *Sabon Gari* settlements in Northern Nigeria. Olusanya enunciated in the paper that the Sabon Gari settlements were created in order to protect Islam and the culture of the Hausa-speaking predominantly Muslim, population. His belief is that colonial officers in Northern Nigeria barred Euro-Christian traders and missionaries to live side-by-side and thereby mix freely with Muslims of the North because that would not only lead to disturbances and make the administration of the North very difficult, but would destroy Northern culture and institutions. The Sabon Gari system was therefore conceived and instituted to accommodate Christians and non-Northerners.

The effort of Olusanya in studying the Sabon-Gari system in Northern Nigeria was complimented by the works of C.N. Ubah[2], A.D. Edley,[3] A.V. Dhiliwayo[4], P.L. Nku[5], and E.

Du-Sai[6]. The main argument of these scholars is that the Sabon-Garis were established to protect Islam and its culture. Also, they seem to have the conviction that these settlements were established to house only Christians and/or people from Southern Nigeria who immigrated to the North during the early colonial era. In other words, religious and regional dichotomies were used in explaining why the colonial government established the Sabon-Gari settlements.

Olusanya's paper as well as the works of these scholars on the Sabon-Gari settlements is indeed important contribution to Kano's urban history in the 20th century. What these scholars have written provide a welcome confirmation to what many people still consider the Sabon-Gari settlements to be, namely: home of Christians and non-Northerners. Superficially the arguments of these scholars seem to be straight forward and indisputable. However, as historical knowledge of these settlements broadens, it becomes very clear that Olusanya has obscured very crucial features of Sabon-Gari settlements in Northern Nigeria.

This chapter is an attempt to portray the empirical and theoretical deficiencies of Olusanya's position on the emergence of Sabon-Gari settlements in Northern Nigeria. The central argument in the paper is that the Sabon-Gari of Kano, as well as other Sabon Gari settlements in Northern Nigeria, was established because of colonial policies which were based on the philosophy of racialism and separation of people residentially. The paper concentrates on Sabon-Gari Kano because of its significance as the most economically prosperous Sabon-Gari in Northern Nigeria. The Sabon Gari Kano also contains the largest number of immigrant communities than any similar settlements in Nigeria and

lastly it is in Kano that the Sabon-Gari settlement was first established by the colonial government in 1913. The first part of the paper examines the colonial township policy which led to the emergence of the segregated residential zones all over Nigeria. The second part of the paper discusses how colonial racial policy encouraged the institutionalization of the Sabon Gari system, Section three of the paper used the empirical data collected in Kano to show how the Sabon Gari system in Kano accommodated northern and southern Nigerians especially in the first three decades of its existence as well as other Africans irrespective of religious affiliation. The paper has argued in the final analysis that Hausa and many other Northern Nigerian communities constituted a substantial if not the largest proportion of Sabon-Gari Kano population until the time of the 1953 Kano Riot when many Northerners were forced out of Sabon-Gari.[7]

The Township Policy and the Emergence of Segregated Residential Zones in Colonial Northern Nigeria

During the pre-colonial era, people in Northern Nigeria both natives and immigrants) moved with relative ease from one city to another because they were unrestricted. People were also engaged in occupations of their choice, and more so there was no segregation in the settlement pattern. In the famous city of Kano there were in nearly all the residential areas settlers from more than one region, ethnic groups as well as occupation.[8] All residential areas were also units of social interaction, community identity, and inter-ethnic assimilation. The Arab-immigrants to pre-colonial Kano were an example of immigrant groups who became physically and culturally

assimilated by means of inter-marriages with the Hausa and Fulani tribes.[9]

However, the establishment of colonial rule changed the settlement pattern which existed during the pre-colonial era. The colonial state created new administrative units called the Townships all over Nigeria. The Townships are areas outside the jurisdiction of the Native Courts. By 1903, Townships in Nigeria were categorized into 3 classes, with Lagos as the only first class[10] because it was the seat of the government, the main port and the railway terminal and also the area with the largest number of Europeans in the country.[11] The law administered in all the three classes of Townships were primarily British common law and the station magistrate was the chief executive of the Township. The duties of the station magistrate included sanitary supervision, the regulation of streets, buildings and open-spaces, land allocation, fencing of lands, control of markets and sanitary matters.[12]

In Kano, the nucleus of the Township was the cantonment i.e. government station) which was established in 1904 at Geiza later renamed Bompai) which became the first permanent European Residential and administrative centre as well as area for the colonial army and the police.[13]

The Lebanese quarter, situated in the western part of the railway station between the European commercial area and the city was the second residential area established out in the Kano Township. Carved in 1915, the Lebanese quarter was created to accommodate Lebanese, Syrians, Arabs and Greeks who massively migrated to Kano after the colonial conquest.

Sabon-Gari was the third settlement established in Kano Township in 1913. The settlement was created in order

for the colonial government to directly administer within the British magisterial rule those Africans - Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe, Hausa, Chadians, Ghanaians who migrated to Kano in the early 20th century. The Sabon-Gari Kano was incorporated into the Township in 1918 under the Township regulation No.8[14]

What is apparent from the foregoing is that the establishment of the Sabon-Gari system in Kano was the result of the Township policy which was a form of a new political and administrative arrangement under colonial rule. Immigrant groups or foreigners under the new political-administrative arrangement were compelled to live directly under British and not native rulers. The creation of the Townships afforded the colonial state the opportunity to monopolize political power and subsequently human and material resources.

Colonial Racial Policy as the Basis of the Sabon Gari System

The racial policy of the colonial state was what encouraged the Township policy. The British racially segregated Nigerians in all aspects of life, for they never liked the idea of allowing the natives or foreigners to reside with the Europeans. Residential and racial segregation were thus considered very vital for the interest of Europeans.[15] Lugard in his Political Memoranda has expressed the racial segregation policy of the British government by stating that:

> Wherever Europeans reside care will be taken to give effect to the government policy of segregation… No natives except the bona-fide domestic servant of European may reside in the non-European reservation.[16]

It was in 1902 that Lugard first instructed the colonial officials to declare some areas to be "Europeans",[17] and in the same manner he advised the natives to live in their towns, under their chiefs and the native courts,[18] When the Sabon-Gari settlements were established in Northern Nigeria therefore, they were all sited far away from the European residential areas out of the consideration for what the colonial administrators called the interest of the Europeans.[19] Sabon-Gari Zaria was established at a distance of about three miles from the government station.[20] In Kano, the colonial authority separated Sabon-Gari from the Europeans Areas by a building-free-zone (BFZ) of about 440 yards wide. The objective of building-free-zone is to separate Europeans from the Natives whose blood was considered to have contained germs - malaria, yellow fever, etc.[21] Lord Lugard was straight forward on the question of the interest of the Europeans on page 1 of his first Annual Report of Northern Nigeria (1900):

> … the policy shall be gradually to move the native town six or seven miles downstream and so do away with the pollution of the water, and with other evils such as the proximity of a haven for thieves and prostitutes, the infection of mosquitoes with malaria germs, and the insanitary condition inevitable around a large native town.[22]

What is certain from the above is that both economic and racial interests and arguments have co-existed, competed and/or combined to rationalize the establishment of Sabon-Gari settlements in Northern Nigeria.

Regional and Ethnic Compositions of Sabon-Garin Kano Population

The view that the Sabon Gari settlements in Northern Nigeria were created in order to protect Islam is erroneous. The establishment of these settlements had very little, if anything, to do with creating separate residential zones for Southern Nigerians who migrated to the North during the colonial period. The very idea of preserving Islamic values which Olusanya and other scholars emphasized is an over statement because the British colonialists did not attempt to preserve Islamic values. The British did not, for example, encourage the pursuit of Islamic education which is the foundation of Islam) in the North, even though at the time of the colonial conquest there had existed in the Muslim states of Northern Nigeria a great number of Koranic schools, estimated at 25,000 with some 250,000 pupils.[23] The British did not also encourage the Holy pilgrimage to Mecca in Northern Nigeria, for the colonial policy as J.N. Paden has pointed out, was to discourage contact among the various national segments of the Islamic world.[24] In particular, the British feared contact between Northern Nigeria and the Sudan because of the potential for Mahdist resistance to colonialism.

In addition, the British colonial government also discouraged the practice of conducting the business of the Native Administration in Arabic letters *Ajami*) which was started during the early days of colonial rule, because the British officials thought that, it would aid the spread of Islam. Consequently, *Ajami* as well as Koranic schools were marginalized and discarded. Religious education was seen largely as a private matter, and not for the state, since the colonial state has "promised" not to interfere with religion.[25] Thus, as a result of colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, the notion of secular state emerged. A.V. Dhiliwayo has

addressed the issue of secularizing Northern Nigeria emirates more appropriately by pointing out that colonial conquest meant the penetration of western values, viz: Christianity, capitalism and western education.[26] He further stressed that:

> It does not make sense to desire a preservation of the Emirate structures, when one is busy incorporating them within imperialist, corrosive and exploitative system.[27]

The question of preserving Islamic culture which Olusanya eulogized therefore is peripheral in understanding why the Sabon Gari settlements were established in Northern Nigeria during the colonial era. The settlements were labor reserves and were established to accommodate both Christians and Muslims irrespective of their regional and national origins. In her work on Sabon Garin Sokoto, Risikat Mohammed pointed out that when the settlement was first established in the mid-1930's, a large proportion of its - population was Muslim.[28]

Other studies have revealed that Muslims were the most populous immigrants who first inhabited the Sabon Garin Kano when it was established in 1913. Indeed it was the presence of large number of Muslims in the settlement that led to the establishment in 1925 of the Samori-ad-deen mosque. The second mosque in Sabon Gari Kano was built in 1930 by the Ahmadiyya mission. In 1936 the Ansar-ud-deen society built its mosque. The Muslims in the settlement also formed in 1936 the Muslim Elements organization, an association which comprised people of different nationalities and tribal as well as regional backgrounds. Table 1 shows the number of Muslims residing in Sabon Gari Kano viz-a-viz Christians in 1939.

Table 1: Population of Muslims and Christians in Sabon Gari, Kano In 1939

Religious Denomination	Population
Orthodox Muslims	3,000
R.C.M	1,082
C.M.S Holy Trinity	1,096
Baptist Mission	156
Hausa Church C.M.S)	116
Una African Church)	90
Ansar-ud-deen	120
Methodist Church	71
S.I.M	84
Faith Tolerance	21
Ahmadiyya Movement	74

Source: NAK Kano Prof, 4292, Reports on Native Reservation: Kano Township, p.18

The above table contradicts the argument of Olusanya as well as those other scholars who have posited that Sabon Gari, Kano, as well as all other similar settlements in Northern Nigeria) were established to accommodate Christians only. Muslims reside in the settlement side-by-side with Christians since its foundation. And due to the fact that the Muslims in the settlement believed that they were not a minority group, they became politically active. In 1949 the Muslim Element Organization founded in l936) wrote a letter to the emir of Kano and complained against the intention of the Native Authority to remove them from Sabon Gari to places such as Fage and Tudun Wada.. They maintained that most of them immigrated to the settlement permanently and would not like to be separated, either from their Muslim brothers or Christian

neighbors with whom they had lived and cultivated the spirit of live and let live for a long time. They further asserted that:

> It is rather painful to note that in spite of the fact that most of the original settlers of Sabon Gari were Muslims and some of us have lived here since 1914, it is now considered necessary, by the Native Authority to separate us from the Christians with whom we have lived in peace and harmony for a very long time.[29]

In addition to what has been said concerning the religious situation in the settlement, it is also vital to point out that Sabon Gari settlements were not established to house only Southern Nigerians as Olusanya and several other scholars have argued. Since 1913, for example people from different parts of Nigeria have been residing in Sabon Gari, Kano, side-by-side with Southern Nigerians. The Nupes of the now Niger state and some parts of Kwara state were amongst the earliest settlers.[30] Hausa-speaking people from different parts of West Africa were also amongst the earliest settlers in Sabon Gari, Kano. Table 2 shows the ethnic composition of Sabon Gari in 1937.

Table 2: Population Structure: Sabon Gari Kano, 1937

Ethnicity	Male	Female	Boy S	Girls	Total
Hausa	725	678	263	237	1903
Yoruba	644	466	224	213	1547
lgbo	619	467	240	201	1529
Nupe	396	275	92	62	825
Gold Coast	181	86	25	19	311
Sierra Leone	141	78	18	14	251
Arab	207	192	41	37	477
Cameroun	37	56	10	21	124
Dahomey	92	92	20	16	176
Fernandopo	37	37	8	12	94

Source: NAK Kano Prof, 6115, Sabon Gari Kano Administration

Certainly the above table debunks the arguments and conclusion of those scholars who portray Sabon Gari Kano as residential area of Southern Nigerians only. The settlement was and is still home of both Northerners and Southerners and indeed Muslims and Christians.

Conclusion

What is apparent from the data collected in the course of writing this chapter is that the establishment of the Sabon Gari settlement in Kano and other Northern Nigerian cities) interfered with the pre-colonial political and economic systems. In the pre-colonial period, the Emir was single-handedly responsible for and in-charge of inward and outward flow of people in Kano city. However, with the colonial Township policy which led to the creation of Sabon Gari and other segregated residential areas outside the city wall, the Emir was no longer responsible for the immigrant communities in urban Kano. Immigrants to Kano throughout the colonial era therefore had only peripheral relationships with the local political authorities who were themselves controlled by the colonial rulers).

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CHAPTER TWELVE

Implications of Religious Change in Kano on the Establishment of Pre-Colonial Migrant Settlements in Central Nigeria

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Introduction

Though Islamization affected the whole of Hausaland, from the extant sources it appears the largest trend in the migration southwards into the Central Nigeria, resulting from the response of peoples to the introduction of the new religion, came mostly from the ancient kingdom of Kano. While statistical data are hard to come by, from the number of settlements which were established, the trend must have been continuous and substantial. Several reasons may account for this. Kano emerged very early on as a commercial centre and so attracted not only merchants but also early Islamic clerics. The area of Central Nigeria lay immediately to the south of Kano and naturally provided a refuge for the immigrants. Though the ancient kingdom of Zazzau also shares common borders with Central Nigeria, the introduction of Islam here did not seem to have produced the same trend in the exodus of people as in Kano. Among the major settlements established by migrants from Kano were Chokobo, Gwandara,

Kanam, Koro, Kurama and Kuzamani in the area of Central Nigeria.

The Pre-Islamic Religion of Kano

Hausa traditional religion and Islamic values have coexisted for so long and have so intermixed that the basic tenets of Hausa Society today are in almost all respects Islamic. Though the transition from the traditional religion to Islam was gradual and peaceful, it was not entirely a smooth process in Kano. The change in religion produced a significant discontinuity in the traditional beliefs and social structures, and thereby marked the beginning of a new era in the society. Firstly, this ushered in a new perception of the cosmos and the adoption of a universalist as opposed to a particularist conception of' the world. Secondly, it created tension and stresses in the society thereby leading to a number of migrations from Kano and from other parts of Hausaland into the area of Central Nigeria, which was then known as *Kasashen Bauchi,* literally, non-Hausa speaking territory lying in the south up to the rivers Benue and Niger.

The early history of Kano up to the fifteenth century can be termed pre-Islamic. Its original inhabitants were called the Abagayawa, who according to the records were descendants of a blacksmith named Kano.[1] This eat ancestor lived near Dala hill within what later became Kano city. The grandson of Kano was Barbushe.

It is recounted that the religion of the Abagayawa was centred on the worship of an idol called Tsumburbura. The main features of the sacred ceremonies at Dala hill consisted in the great exploits of its leadership whose qualification was determined on the basis of both ascribed and achieved roles;

the chosen leader acted as a deputy of the deity; he also served as the intermediary between the people and the deity; and was supposed to possess supernatural qualities. Finally, invocation of 'magic' words by the leader was a salient part of' the worship.[2]

The late Waziri of Kano, Abubakar Dokaji has recorded the oral tradition in Hausa, part of which has been translated as follows:

> According to the custom at that time, the leader should be the strongest and the best worshipper of the idols. Barbushe was the leader who was appointed. He was a great hunter and idol worshipper. He could kill an elephant and carry it for twelve hours. His house was on the Dala Hill, where the idol called Tsumburbura lived. The idol has another name Shamus. The Shamus was one of the idols of the time of the Prophet, just like Ya'uka and Yagusa… Now Tsumburbura is the spirit that the magicians call Dako Dan Musa. Barbushe was the chief courtier of Tsumburbura and was his deputy who looked after the people. Only Barbushe could enter the place of Tsumburbura. Anyone else who entered that place would die. Barbushe's house was on Dala Hill. He used to come down yearly. When the time of his coining down came, the people of Kano would meet together at the foot of Dala, men and women alike. Some brought a black dog, some a black fowl, others a black He-goat. When darkness came, Barbushe would come down. Then the drummers would start drumming, and he would start shouting. He would say some magic words… Then Barbushe would return to Dala Hill, the people following him with all that they brought. Then they would sacrifice all which they brought.[3]

As long as Barbushe was alive, the security of the Abagayawa was guaranteed. Following his death, the Abagayawa became

the target of attacks by their neighbors until they were eventually conquered. The sources claim that Barbushe had predicted that Islam will one day come to Kano, and this was fulfilled by the coming of the Wangarawa clerics in the reign of' Yaji, dated by Palmer as 1349–1365.

The Islamization and Territorial Expansion of Kano

The introduction of I slam did not only result in the conversion of the ruling family who adopted it as a state religion but the leadership also embarked on territorial extension of its borders in an attempt to expand the frontiers of Islam. Recounting the introduction of Islam, the Kano Chronicle states that "in Yaji's time the Wangarawa came from Melle bringing the Muhammadan religion. The name of the leader was Abdulrahman Zaite.[4] Although the new religion led to the conversion of the ruling family, this by no means implied that the bulk of the population found it easy to renounce their old established traditional practices for the new religion. Indeed, initially it can be said that the majority of the people remained strongly attached to their traditional religion while others possibly maintained at best a syncretized practice of both the new and the old beliefs."

The Wangarawa surely must have faced an uphill task in their initial attempts to remove traditional features from the affairs of the state and to replace them with Islamic institutions. Prominent among these was the cutting down of the sacred tree where a mosque was built on its site and the appointment of Imams and Qadis.[5]

As the bulk of the population was still stuck in their traditional beliefs, these innovations were bound to meet with strong resistance. The leader of the Opposition was Sarkin

Gazarawa, whose followers persistently defiled the mosque and also caused some of the converts to relapse into traditional practices. It was in this condition that Yaji embarked on his military campaigns and territorial expansion. It is highly probable that Yaji may have conceived of his campaigns as wars of Jihad. According to the records, Yaji, after overcoming the opposition of Sarkin Gazarawa, with the support of the Wangarawa clerics, stormed Santolo, another stronghold of traditional religion which had to be destroyed before the new administration in Kano could be firmly established.[7]

Following the capture of Santolo, Yaji next marched against the Kwararrafa who also had refused to follow him:

> When he came to their town, they were afraid to fight and fled up to the hill at Atagara. The Sarki camped there also for six months. No one came down from the rock. At last the pagans paid him a hundred slaves.[8]

It has been postulated that the Kwararrafa referred to here consisted of displaced elements from Hausaland that had rejected Islam, who had retreated southwards into the hilltops on the borders of Kano and Central Nigerian Highlands.[9] The successors of Yaji did continue with the wars. For instance, Yaji's successor and son of Tsamiya, Bugaiya (1385-1390), ordered the non-Muslim Hausa (*Maguzawa*) to abandon the rock of Fongui and scattered them throughout the land. The country became peaceful as a result of these measures and regular tributes were paid to the Sarki.[10]

The era of peace and security which followed the dispersal of the defenders of traditional religion from their stronghold did not last for long. It seems with the death of

Bugaiya, the Maguzawa repudiated their allegiance and ceased to pay tributes to Kano. Kanajeji, son of Yaji and successor of Bugaiya, on coming to power had to "send to the Kwararrafa, demanding why they did not pay tribute."[11] Through a combination of skillful diplomacy and the threat of war, Kanajeji succeeded in compelling his adversaries into submission. Next, he then undertook an expedition against the ancient kingdom of Zazzau. During their encounters, Kanajeji is hailed as the ruler of the Kere" and acclaimed to have scattered the forces of Zazzau and prevented the people from washing in the Kubanni river.[12]

The victory of Kanajeji was however achieved at the cost of a high price. Paradoxically, in order to achieve his military and political ambition, he had to revert to the traditional religion by reestablishing the idol of Tsumburbura. The effect of this reversion is yet to be assessed, but it no doubt must have caused a great deal of disappointment amongst the Muslims in the Kano metropolis. It also most probably had affected the imperial campaigns of the leadership. Interestingly, following the reversion of Kanajeji to the traditional practice, the sources remained silent on either Kano or Kwararrafa attacks. This despite continued during the next few succeeding rulers.

It would appear that it was only from the reign of' Abdullahi Burja (1438-1352), that Islam regained ground in Kano. Subsequently, the state emerged as an international centre of Islamic scholarship, attracting learned men from Borno and North Africa. A major stimulus in this direction was the arrival of Fulani learned men from Mali, bringing with them, books of Divinity and Etymology.[13] Greater impetus was given to Islam during the glorious reign of

Muhammad Rumfa, whom the sources have described as a "perfect Muslim" and the author of 'Twelve Innovations'.[14]

Such a revival in Islam appears to have encouraged the leadership in Kano to reactivate their territorial expansion. Military expeditions were dispatched by Abdullahi Burja into the south obviously against the non-Muslims on whom the Muslims were justified to recruit as slaves. The *Kano Chronicle* states that his Galadima, Daudu, spent seven years raiding in the area of Central Nigeria. It is reported that,

> Every month he sent a thousand slaves to Sarkin Kano. All the people of Kano flocked to him. There *was* no one left in Kano except the Sarki and very old men. Every day the Sarki sent the Galadima horses, clothes and horse trappings.

The praise song of Daudu exalts him as:

> Gatherer of the axes of the south;
> Gatherer of the youth of the south;
> Drum of wealth, Galadima
> Drum of land, Galadima

He stayed for seven years in the south. Slaves became very numerous in Kano… When he was returning, he stopped every three miles and built a town, he left at each a thousand slaves, five hundred males and five hundred females. He thus founded twenty one towns before he came to Kano.[15]

In the course of the succeeding three centuries (1500-1800), the history of Hausaland was dominated by a fierce contest for leadership and political supremacy among the individual Hausa states. Up to the close of the fifteenth century the individual states in Hausaland had been

expanding their territories without actually coming into contact with each other except in case of Kano against Zazzau during the reign of Kanajeji. By the beginning of the sixteenth century however, the process of territorial expansion had brought many of the states into mutual conflicts with one another. The sixteenth century opened with Kano on the offensive against Katsina, but by the middle of the century, Kano was on the defensive against the Katsinawa. The extant sources indicate that Kano was never able to regain her leadership position in the contest for political supremacy up to period of the Sokoto jihad. As a matter of fact Kano instead became the target of attacks from other states such as Gobir and Kebbi.[16]

The Establishment of Hausa Migrant Settlements in Central Nigeria

From the available sources it seems clear that in the pre-Islamic era, there existed no Hausa settlements in the area of Central Nigeria. But after the introduction of Islam, coupled with the intensification of the process and consolidation of state formation, there was a flow of people moving southwards leading to the establishment of migrant settlements in the area under discussion. By implication, the major effects of the coming of Islam and the process of state formation caused a great deal of population displacement in Hausaland some of which migrated south and sought refuge in the Central Nigeria. In the following subsections a brief outline of the establishment of' the main settlements will be examined.

The Kanam Tradition

The ruling house of Kanam, preserves a tradition of' having been expelled from Kano.[17] It is related that when Kumbari came to the throne (1731-1743), he ordered his principal opponent whose name was Maki, (literally, rebuffers), to leave the city. Maki with his supporters left and journeyed southwards in the direction of the present town of Bauchi. On the advice that Kumbari might pursue him there, Maki turned further south to the hilly terrain and there founded the town of Kanam. Through diplomacy and peaceful coexistence he won the support of the local people of Boghom, particularly one of its clans, Pangkwai Kaas.[18] This support encouraged him to gradually extend his rule over the neighbouring villages. During the Jihad period the first emir of Bauchi, Mallam Yakubu, organized Kanam as a vassal state under his emirate.

Ririwan Dalma

Though the traditions of Ririwan Dalma are not directly related to Kano, the settlement was however founded by descendants of a secondary migration from Kano. It was migrants from Ririwan Kano that established Ririwan Dalma. The former was the earliest settlement established by migrants from Kano at the southernmost part of the territory. Mohammed Bello refers to Ririwan Kano as a tin mining town in the pre-jihad period.[19]

It is related that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, tin miners and smelters from Ririwan Kano discovered that the richest source of tin deposits existed further south in the area of Central Nigerian Highlands. To have direct access to the sources of this tin deposits the

migrant moved and established Ririwan Dalma (*dalma* literally means tin ore). It was in the territory of Sanga people that the town was established. Ririwan Dalma grew and flourished as the main centre of tin smelting industry throughout the nineteenth century in the Sokoto Caliphate. The town consisted of tin smelters and miners, traders and artisans.

The Ningi Traditions

Towards the close of the first half of the nineteenth century, one Mallam Hamza, a leading Islamic scholar fell out with his colleagues in Kano and decided to emigrate from the city. Supported by his followers, the party moved to the south and settled among the Afawa, Burawa, Kuddawa and Wurjawa, whom Hamza successfully courted their friendship to accept his leadership.[20] Having gained the support of the local population, Mallam Hamza organized a formidable force with Ningi as his capital. Encouraged by this he went on further to entreat the alliance of other non-Muslim groups. The polities of Chokobo, Gura, Gusu, Lemoro, Jere and Ribina all rejected Hamza's entreaties.[21] Nevertheless, undeterred, he consolidated his power around those polities that he had already won their allegiance.

He and his followers were Muslims but were regarded as rebels by the administration in Kano. After establishing his base in Ningi town which was under Bauchi emirate, Hamza posed a menacing threat to the security of the newly established emirate. All attempts by the leadership of Bauchi to deal decisively with the rising power of Hamza were a dismal failure. He however did not live for long, and after his death at the end of 1850, his son and successor, Mallam Dan Maje (1850-1871) took over the mantle of Ningi's leadership.

During Dan Maje's time he organized raiding expeditions which ravaged the rural populations of the western emirate of Bauchi, southern Kano and eastern emirate of Zazzau. Under the succeeding leadership of Mallam Haruna Karami (1871-1886) and Mallam *Yaya* (1886-1903), the rural populations of the three emirates suffered severely from the Ningi depredations until the imposition of colonial power.

Ethnic Settlements of Kano Ancestry

In addition to the district settlements established by migrants from Kano, there existed many polities in Central Nigeria with traditions of coming from Kano. While some of the polities such as the Chokobo, Kurama and Kuzamani have settled for so long that they have completely lost the Hausa language and now speak dialects akin to their neighbors, the Gwandara have retained the Hausa language albeit, today, they can only speak a modified version of it.

The Chokobo Tradition

Though the Chokobo trace their origin from Kargi, they are obliquely related to Kano. The route of their migration took them through certain parts of southern Kano territory. The tradition recounts that because of dynastic crisis in ancient Kargi, their ancestors left and went first to Fagen Ruwa, from where they moved to Ririwan Kano where the party split into two. One of the branches moved east to Rishi while the other branch, led by Zura, journeyed southwards and established their settlement in the northern hill terrain of central Nigeria.[22] This group call themselves Azura, deriving from the name of their putative ancestor. However, the popular name by which the group is known remains

Chokobo. Having settled for a long time before the jihad, the group lost the Hausa language and now speak a variant of the languages of their close neighbors: the Lemoro, Gura, Gusu, Kurama, Jere, Sanga and Sheni.

The Kurama

The Kurama claim that their ancestors migrated from Kano.[23] It is related that they originally lived in the ancient Kurmi market together with the Abagayawa. The people call themselves Akurmi, which literally means the forest people of Kurmin Jakara, the site on which the market was built. Kurama, the popular name of the group, is the plural of the word *kurmi* forest.

The cause of their migration from this forest is obscure, but some accounts claim that it was because of their refusal to embrace Islam. Those who embraced the new religion lived in a separate ward called Kutumbawa, which means the ward of the converted. Those who rejected the new religion moved out of Kano into the south and came to establish a settlement at Kudaru hills in the Central Nigeria. Though the Kurama cannot remember when their ancestor left Kano, their tradition insists that the group lived for a very long time at Kudaru before the outbreak of the Sokoto Jihad.

Concerning the departure of the Kurama from Kurmi market, Mr. Brice-Smith, a colonial officer, suggested that they "might have left Kano at the time of the Kororofa invasion (of) 1562- 1618."[24] His reference here seems to point to the Kwararrafa devastation of Kano which took place in the reign of Muhammad Zaki (1582-1618). As I have argued elsewhere, the problem with this assumption is that there were five accounts of recorded Kwararrafa raids against Kano: in the

reigns of Yaji (1349-1385), Kanajeji (1390-1410), Muhammad Zaki (1582-1616), Muhammad Kukuna (1652-1660) and Dadi (1670-1703).[25] If the cause of their migration was war, there does not seem to be any reason why the departure of the Kurama cannot be linked to any of these dates. In the absence of any other evidence it would be unsafe to accept Brice-Smith's conjecture as a firmly established date.

Apart from Brice-Smith, none of the Kurama traditions ascribe their migration to wars. Since they attribute the reason to their refusal to accept Islam, their initial migration could have occurred much earlier than Brice-Smith has postulated. This fact is supported by C.K. Meek whose account speaks of the Kurama under ancient Zazzau in which they suffered from severe raids when Kebbi and Songhay invaded the kingdom during the fifteenth century.[26] In this context, they could not have left Kano during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and suffered raids in Zazzau in the fifteenth century at the same time.

The Kuzamani

The Kuzamani traditions claim that their group is a remnant of an expeditionary force from the Ambutawa of Kano which was out on a campaign to the south.[27] On their route, the army encamped in the territory lying between the Kiballo and Rishiwa polities on the northwestern edge of the Kauru massive. In the company of the expedition was a pregnant woman who unexpectedly fell ill of labor pain. In this condition, some of the soldiers and individuals within the party were requested to carry and take care of the woman while the expedition proceeded on their march to the south. The army did not return by the same route or possibly never

went back to Kano. On their departure, the remnant groups were left with the following assuring words: *ku zamna sai mun dawo,* which in Hausa, literally means, tarry until we come back." It was from a contraction of these words that the group got its name, Kuzamani.

Like the Kurama, the Kuzamani tradition is silent on why their ancestor left Kano. The accounts however maintain that the group lived for a very long time at Kauru massive before the outbreak of the nineteenth century Jihad.

Gwandara Traditions

The Gwandara hold that they are descendants of Maguzawa from Kano.[28] It is recorded that in the former kingdom of Kano there was a time when one of its Sarki, Alwali, decided that all the people in the kingdom should become Muslims. Such a decision led to unrest in the society. Under the pressure of the king, many of the people became Muslims. However a great number mostly farmers, hunters and artisans rejected the new religion and opted to move out. On leaving Kano the emigrants travelled south passing through Zazzau, where the leadership granted them permission to settle further to the south in the Benue Valley, out of the influence of the king. The group stopped at Gwagwa, between Keffi and Abuja as they were attracted by the rich virgin land in the area. Here they settled and founded Karshi town. While in this place, an army from Zazzau attacked and dispersed the town, some fled to the Yeskwa district north of Keffi, some, south to the Karu district. But the group had stayed long enough at Karshi to have stopped speaking the standard Hausa and developed a modified version of it called *zaurance.*

In another version, the migrants are said to have been led by *Gaiki-ga-Kuma* or *Kirka- na-Kuma,* who was the Madakin Kano.[29] The Abuja *Chronicle,* however said that the leader of the party was a prince of Kano called Karshi, after whose name their first settlement was called in the Benue Valley. This prince was said to have been driven from Kano because of his refusal to embrace Islam and to give up the 'fetish dance.' It is on account of this that he and his followers were called *Gwanda rawa da sallah,* meaning, "rather dance to the fetish than be a Muslim".[30]

Another version of the tradition recorded by Dr. Ibrahim Tahir in a research into the genealogy of Hausa society, relates that the name of the migrant group was *Gakin-Gaku-ma,* alias K*arfi-ya-hana-sallah,* that is, 'strength absolves us from being Muslims".[31]

The Koro

The Koro people also preserve a tradition of emigrant from Kano on account of religious persecution. They moved south into the Benue Valley and settled at Jonkwil. Temple has suggested that the Koro were one of the largest ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria, and that the ruins of their capital, Jonkwil shows it had been one-third the size of another city. The accounts relate that Jonkwil was a very rich town and well-fortified but was scattered in the first half of the nineteenth century.[32]

Linguistic Problems

With the single exception of the Gwandara who have preserved, though a modified form of the Hausa language, *zaurance,* the rest of the polities who ascribe their origin from Kano do not belong to the same linguistic classification with

the Hausa. While the Hausa belong to the Western Chadic speakers of Afro-Asiatic language family, the Chokobo, Kurama and Kuzainani are Eastern Kainji of the Benue Congo speakers. By implication whereas the Gwandara traditions of Hausa origin from Kano are supported by the linguistic classification, the same cannot he said of the rest of the other polities.

In my study of Eastern Zazzau[33] I have examined this problem and offered some tentative explanations about the lack of linguistic support in the claims of origin from Hausaland. Suffice it to say here that the emigration from Kano took place so long ago that the Hausa language was dropped and the variant of the local dialect developed and adopted.

Conclusion

The introduction and spread of Islam in Hausaland and the growth of a predominant Muslim community in Kano initially caused a great deal of social dislocations. This was accompanied by a series of involuntary migrations from the land southwards into the area of Central Nigeria which became the refuge territory for the various malcontent groups.

While some of the migrant groups on settling among their hosts lost the Hausa language and developed variants of the local dialects, others preserved but modified the Hausa language. From the extant sources, most of these developments occurred during the pre-jihad period while some took place during the nineteenth century.

Though the underlying cause was religious change, there were slightly different reasons for the involuntary migration of people at different times. The motives of the emigration at the introduction of Islam in the fifteenth century

and the motives of migration at the outbreak of the jihad in the nineteenth century appear to differ slightly, in comparative terms. While the rejection of a new and entirely novel religion led to the early forms of migration, the latter movements were caused by the work of reformation in the practice of Islamic religion itself. In either case the basis of religious change had profound impact on the power of leadership in Kano

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the overthrow of the *sarauta* system and its replacement with the emirate administration in Kano, the Sarkin Kano, Alwali, was driven out of the city. Accompanied by his followers, Alwali fled southwards being pursued by the jihadists. He was caught up at Burumburum where he was killed and his followers were dispersed. Some remnants of the followers continued their flight into different parts of Central Nigeria. It is recorded that Barwa, the slave and armor-bearer of Alwali, settled in Dan Alhaji town. After staying for some time in the town, the fugitive slave led Geza, the local chief of the town, to go to Lana where they paid homage to the emir of Zazzau, Mallam Musa. While Geza returned to Dan Alhaji, Barwa did not, "but remained in Zaria and became Mallam Musa's armor-bearer, and was the first holder of the Zaria title of Barwan Sarkin Zazzau."[34]

This was indeed an interesting development. The Barwa who served under Sarkin Kano, Alwali, in the former *sarauta* system became the first holder of the same title under the new emirate administration established in Zazzau. Though this was a slave title, it constituted an important part of the state offices in the pre-colonial government of Kano and Zazzau.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Onomastics of Ward Names in Contemporary Kano

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Introduction

Onomastics is the science that studies names generally. It is divided into anthroponomastics – the study of personal names, and toponomastics – the study of place names (also called toponymy). It is the broad meaning of onomastics that is used here. Onomastics, both of personal and place names has, for a long time, been a source of fascination in the English-speaking world. A testimony to this is the numerous number of works carried out in the field, e.g. Mathews (1966), Dunkling and Gosling (1983), Withycombe (1977), which deal with personal names; and Cameroon (1961), Mathews (1972), Ekwall (1960), and Stewart (1970), which deal with place names.

In Nigeria too, quite a few studies on onomastics exist, but they focus mainly on personal names. Of all the studies available (e.g. Abraham 1941, Kirk-Greene 1964, Yusuf, 1973 and 1979, Ryan 1981, Yusuf, 1977, and Daba 1987), it is only Kirk-Greene (1964) that deals with place names. The purpose of this paper is, first, to fill in this apparent gap in Hausa

onomastics by making a preliminary inquiry into the system of ward and hamlet names in the contemporary city of Kano; and second, to serve as a foundation for some comprehensive study of general place names in Hausa.

An Overview of Ward Names in Kano

Kano is one of the very old Hausa City States, dating over 1000 years back. The year 999 is the most commonly accepted period when the capital of Bagauda kingdom was established in the city. However, heterogeneous communities from various parts of Africa lived in Kano even before then. Although the Abagayawa, a blacksmith clan from Gaya, were often reported as the first notable settlers and acclaimed founders of Kano, there were in reality other communities, of potters, farmers and hunters to which Dala (the famous elephant hunter) belonged. The main attraction of Kano then was said to be the collective efforts of its inhabitants and its cosmopolitan attributes. The groups co-existed with, and inter-depended on one another. They developed various occupations and trades which were run on a daily basis or at intervals in a weekly conducted market. Each of the groups had its native language, which, however, later collapsed into what is now known as the Hausa language.

The development of Kano city can best be described under three broad periods: the old period, the colonial period, and the contemporary period. The old period spanned the early days of Kano to the year 1903, during which the city grew from a tiny settlement around the Dala hill to a booming town of numerous wards and hamlets. The growth, obviously, was a result of the daily immigration into the city by merchants, farmers, artisans, hunters, blacksmiths, and

scholars from various parts of Africa, particularly Wangarawa merchants and scholars from Mali, and North Africans from Algeria, Tunis, and Libya; and later the Fulani jihadists. It was during this period that Kano had its city walls and gates, which naturally served as fortification for the city and a natural boundary. The colonial period saw a further development of the city courtesy of a new wave of settlers, namely Europeans and other government and technical personnel from elsewhere in Africa. It was during this period that the city of Kano expanded to what was called Waje area, i.e. the outskirts of Kano, e.g. Fage, Nasarawa, Sabon Gari, and Brigade wards, which mainly housed newcomers such as the Europeans, other administrative and technical personnel from outside Kano, industrialists, new merchants – particularly Syrians and the Lebanese, missionaries, and military personnel, especially World War veterans. Sociologically, there was some segregation then between the inhabitants of the walled city, thought to be the bona-fide Kano people, and the dwellers of the Waje area, who were considered strangers, and often lacking in acceptance by the city dwellers. The contemporary period witnessed the continued growth of Kano. New wards kept emerging both within and outside the walled city, but largely the latter. Due to the population explosion and urbanization of the city, the city dwellers now found it necessary to start moving out to new areas, so as to acquire sufficient land for their now large families. Despite that, however, there was still some apprehension and a feeling of insecurity in those moving outside the walled city. There was the fear of cultural pollution likely to be experienced in the Waje area, for it harbored all instruments of moral corruption: cinemas, night clubs, prostitute houses, etc.

Because of the brief profile given above, one can see that Kano was now a complex city, both physically and in terms of its population make-up. It was also complex in terms of the names given its wards, quarters and hamlets, which were a total of 142 at the time of writing this paper. An example of these wards is as follows:

Kurna	Zangon Barebari	Gwammaja
Madabo	Kantudu	Dogarai
Marmara	Sharfadi	Durumin Iya
Soron Dinki	Zage	Kabuwaya
Alkantara	Galadanci	Shatsari
Mazan Kwarai	Kofar Mata	Alfundiki

These ward names were often derived from the names of individuals, trees or hills, references to particular occupations, loan-words from foreign settlers, as well as Hausa phrases or sentences – a truly complex scenario. Despite this complexity, however, the naming process is not erratic or arbitrary. Rather it is a product of some systematic activity, and it is this activity that the present paper sets out to study. Before doing that, though, it is important to establish these points. First, giving names to wards or hamlets is not something an individual person does unilaterally at will. It is neither an activity a group of persons or an authority does or enforces on people to accept. It is rather a practice initiated by one or more persons which often gets accepted and adopted by others over some long period of time. The same procedure applies in renaming a ward.

Secondly, while a great majority of these names, more than 95%, refer to wards that are registered with city officials and have appointed ward heads (masu unguwa, singular mai

unguwa), others are simply names given to certain spots within a ward or across wards, but which are neither officially registered nor (do) have ward heads.

Types of Naming Processes

Ward names in Kano are generally categorized into eight major types of derivations. That is to say, the etymologies of the names can be explained by making reference to certain types of derivations totaling eight in number. I give below these eight categories with a brief explanation and examples of wards matching each category.

i) Natural Geographical Features

Certain wards are named with reference to some natural geographical features, especially of the surrounding areas. Such features could be landscape properties such as hills (ascents), valleys (descents), trees, or ponds; vegetation; or natural resources, which may or may not still, be present in the areas. Examples of such wards are as follows:

Dorayi	(plural of dorawa, 'locust-been tree')
Chedi	(plural of chediya 'fig-trees)
Gabari	(plural of gabaruwa 'Egyptian Mimosa')
Kurnar Asabe	(the thorny tree 'Melia Azedarach' of Asabe
Durumin Iya	(the tree 'Ficus Syringifolia' of Iya)
Giginyu	(plural of giginya 'deleb palm tree')
Madatai	(plural of madaci 'African Mahogany tree')
Rimi	(kapok tree)
Chediyar Kuda	(fig-tree of flies)
Tudun Wazirci	(viziers' hill)
Kantudu	(hill top)
Kududdufawa	(pond region)
Bakin Ruwa	(black pool/pond)
Dausayi	(orchard)
Gandu	(garden/irrigation farm)

Yalwa	(favourable climate/vegetation)
Marmara	(igneous rocks)
Darma	(iron/lead)
Sarari	(open space)
Kwarin Mabuga	(descent of cloth-beaters)
Fage	(open space)
Gwauron Dutse	(lone hill/rock)
Filin Mushe	(open space for carcass)
Mararraba	(intersection/crossroads)
Makwarari	(drainage)
Lalloki	(narrow passage)

Trees constitute the largest proportion of features reflected in this group of ward names, followed by geographical features of the land, e.g. open space, hills, and valleys. Others then follow suite. All of these could be said to be landmarks which distinguish these wards from others physically, and this strategy is a very common naming process around the world. In the western world, particularly the USA, places are named after geographical features as seen in Beverly Hills, Capitol Hill, Silicon Valley, Rockview Apartments, etc. Regarding the expression cloth beating in the example Kwarin Mabuga 'descent of cloth-beaters', it should be noted that in Hausa culture, clothes especially made of heavy or thick fabric, are beaten with huge wooden clubs to straighten them up from wrinkle, hence the profession cloth-beating.

ii) Immigrant Camps

Several wards in Kano are named after some special sites such as camps for immigrant communities or people of certain ethnicity. The names were meant to identify these areas and associate them with their inhabitants. For example:

Tudun Nufawa	(hill of the Nupe)
Zangon Barebari	(camp of the Kanuri)

Dandalin Turawa	(lit. European, but actually, Arab camp)
Agadasawa	(immigrants from Agadez)
Sharifai	(descendents of Prophet Muhammad - supposedly)
Madigawa	(people of Madugu, caravan leader)
Wudilawa	(immigrants from Wudil)
Tukuntawa	(immigrants from Takum)
Hausawa	(Hausa community)
Sudawa	(Sudanese community)
Daurawa	(immigrants from Daura)
Shirawa	(immigrants from Shira)
Kabawa	(immigrants from Kebbi)
Yola(wa)	(a Fulani clan)
Gobirawa	(immigrants from Gobir)
Daneji	(a Fulani clan)
Nasarawa	(Europeans, singular is Nasara)
Kurawa	(a Fulani clan, immigrants from Kura)
Zango	(encampment)
Alkantara	(cf. Arabic al-qantar 'bridge')
Alfundiki	(cf. Arabic al-funduq 'hotel')
Akwa	(cf. aqua 'water')

Major evidence reflected in the names above is the long standing fame of Kano and its attraction to people of various nationalities, north and south of the Sahara, as confirmed by historians. Turawa in Dandalin Turawa referred to the Arabs, and not Europeans as the actual translation of the word might suggest. However, it should be noted that while most of the examples in (3) are names of Hausa derivation depicting certain towns, nations, or ethnic groups elsewhere, the last three examples are of foreign origin, but can yet identify a particular language group. Alkantara (from al-qantar 'bridge') and Alfundiki (from al-funduq 'hotel') are both Arabic words, which suggest the presence of the Arabs in Kano way back in

history. There is sufficient justification to believe that the two wards referred to were either inhabited or labeled by Arab immigrants sometime in the past (see appendix 1). According to oral narratives, on their way to the Kurmi market, traders had cross a shallow muddy stream, a tributary of the erstwhile Zage River. In order to make their passage easier, they cut down logs of trees and place them across the shallow stream so that people and animals could pass without getting stuck in the mud. The Arabs named this place Al-kantara meaning a bridge in Arabic — thus inadvertently giving the area a name. For Alfundiki, the name came about because of the fact that the area was littered with lodgings and guest houses for the Arabs and their guests, as well as shops where Arab wares and articles were sold, and restaurants where Arab foods were served. Akwa, according to popular belief, is the adopted Latin word aqua (cf. aquarium, aquamarine, aquatic), which stands for water, suggesting an earlier presence of, or some form of contact between Kano and the Romans. According to the first assertion, it was the Romans that named a famous well in the ward 'aqua', which was later extended to the entire ward.

iii) Royal Wards

These are wards whose inhabitants were mostly of royal blood as reflected in their names. The category also consists of wards for the slaves of royalty such as dogarai 'courtiers', Muslim clerics who lead people in prayers (limamai plural, limami singular), and others. Consider these names:

Gidan Sarki	(Emir's palace)
Galadanci	(ward of the Galadima

Tudun Wazirci	(viziers' hill)
Ciranci	(ward of the Ciroma)
Ciromawa	(Ciroma's people)
Limanci	(ward of the (Chief) Imam)
Dogarai	(courtier's ward)
Indabawa	(Dabo's people – Emir of Kano, 1819-46)

iv) Occupational Wards

A great number of wards in Kano were named after sites of certain occupations or crafts as their inhabitants were originally craftsmen or artisans of various specializations. Other ward names depict places where certain items were made or sold. Such wards include the following:

Unguwar Gini	(builders' ward)
Rimin Kira	(kapok tree of smithing)
Magashi	(roasting place)
Takalmawa	(shoe makers)
Kan-karofi	(hill of dye-pits)
Soron dinki	(hall of embroidery)
Makera	(smithy)
Adakawa	(trunk or box makers)
Masaka	(weaving place)
'Yan tandu	(hide vessel makers)
'Yan awaki	(goat sellers)
'Yan doya	(yam sellers)
Dukawa	(leather workers)
Magoga	(scrubbers' place)
Majema	(skin tanning place)
Marina	(cloth dyers)
Masukwani	(galloping place)

A common meaning in all the above examples is the notion of 'a place for doing x' or 'a place where x is sold'. For example, Magoga referred to a place where precious stones were scrubbed and polished into their finery for use by women as

jewelry. Masukwani on the other hand referred to an open space where donkeys participated in some galloping race regularly, hence the name of the ward.

v) Explorers or Famous Local People

Another large contingent of hamlets in Kano was named after some famous explorers that visited (or settled in) Kano earlier on, people that frequented a particular area, or some local heroes after whom the area or ward was named. A good testimony of this is that each of these wards carries, in its name, the name of this explorer, popular person, or local hero. Consider these (cf. means compare with, and < means derived from):

Durumin Iya (cf. Iya)	Kurnar Asabe (cf. Asabe)
Malam Ganari (cf. Ganari)	Tudun Murtala (cf. Murtala)
Durumin Arbabi (cf. Arbabi)	Tudun Wada (cf. Wada)
Chediyar Feru (cf. Feru)	Masallacin Jalli (cf. Jalli)
Manladan (cf. Malam Ladan)	Yakasai (person's name)
Zaitawa (cf. Zaghaiti)	Sheshe (person's name)
Madigawa (cf. Madugu)	Magwan (person's name)
Kabara (cf. Malam (Na) Kabara	Gwangwazo (person's name)
Dawanau (person's name)	Gwale (person's name)
Na'ibawa (cf. Na'ibi)	Kulkul (cf. Kut-kut)
Dala (person's name)	Aikawa (cf. Aika)
Arzai (name of a female spirit)	Daganda (name of a female slave)
Madungurum (person's name)	Makafi (blind people)
Madabo (< Moddibo)	Satatima (< Shatima)
Sharfadi (< saharafud-deen)	Mandawari (person's name)

The name Makafi was in reference to the large concentration of blind people who lived in the ward. Manladan was derived from Malam Ladan through the syntactic or morphological contraction of Malam to Man,

which is a common process in linguistic studies. A similar contraction could be seen in Madungurum, which was originally Madugun Gurum "the caravan leader from Gurum" before the contraction. The name Kulkul is a corrupt version of the name Kutkut. Long ago, a group of immigrants from North Africa settled in that area, i.e. Kulkul on the western side of Kasuwar Kurmi, the main city market. They were under the leadership of Abdullahi Kutkut. The area became Kulkul due to the inability of the Kanawa to pronounce Abdullahi Kutkut's name properly. Other corrupt pronunciations include Madabo, which was derived from Moddibo, a Fulani word for a learned person, Satatima, a corrupt pronunciation of Shatima, a Kanuri name, and Sharfadi, a corrupt version of sharafud-deen, an Arabic expression for religious propagation, which was said to be a constant expression by an Arab immigrant who lived in the ward. The phenomenon in (v) above is common globally for it was through it that the American place names Washington DC, San Francisco, Chicago, Maryland, Evansville, etc., or even Kingston, in Jamaica were derived. All of these were famous people.

vi) City Gates

This is an exclusive category that comprises names of wards coined after the various gates to the city of Kano. The name of each of these wards consists of the word Kofar 'gate of' plus the name of the gate as shown below:

Kofar Kansakali	Kofar Mata
Kofar Kabuga	Kofar Nasarawa
Kofar Gadon Kaya	Kofar Dan-agundi
Kofar Duka-wuya	Kofar Na'isa

Kofar A-dama	Kofar Waika
Kofar Ruwa	Kofar Dawanau
Kofar Wambai	Kofar Mazugal
Sabuwar Kofa	Kofar Alasan

The aberration in the linguistic structure of Sabuwar Kofa, compared to the others, is simply a matter of linguistic structure. While Kofar Kansakali "gate of the sword" is a noun + noun structure, Sabuwar Kofa "new gate" is of adjective + noun structure. The theme – gate – however, remains the same. A historical explanation is that all other gates were classical, but Sabuwar Kofa was new, as reflected in the word sabuwa 'new'. Hence a new gate, a new linguistic structure. There are several stories behind the naming of the city gates above. For example, Kofar Mata "gate of women" was so named because during a certain attack on Kano, women were evacuated through that gate to avoid humiliation or capture. Kofar Alasan "gate of Alasan" was named after the famous Kano merchant Alasan Dantata, as a mark of honor, because the gate was situated near his residence. Kofar Wambai "gate of Wambai" was named after Wambai, a member of the royalty in Kano. Finally, Kofar Ruwa "gate of water" was so called because the gate was built in an area surrounded by water.

vii) Descriptive or Imperative Names

What is involved in this class of names is the invocation of some picturesque images by a certain speaker for easy identification by hearers. This description used, as points of reference, the newness of the place, e.g. Sabon-gari 'new town' or Sabon-sara 'new layout'; its size or length, e.g. Dogon

Nama 'place that resembles a long slice of meat i.e. on a map' (but oral narratives revealed that Dogon Nama came about as a result of the close association between the original inhabitants of this ward, namely Tuaregs from Agadez, and the camel, nicknamed dogon nama 'tall animal'). Other points of reference noted were the structural properties of the place, e.g. Jan-bulo 'red bricks' used in building the houses in the ward, and Jar Kasa 'red earth' which reveals the redness of the earth in the area. The class also includes wards named through the use of some fascinating imperative forms of language, e.g. Dakata 'stop' or kar-ka-sara 'don't cut/chop'; or rather some simple declarative sentences, e.g. Ka-buwaya 'you defy all/you are unconquerable', which can probably be attributed to the manner in which earlier inhabitants of these wards expressed themselves with an attitude. But unlike all other examples, the last ward name, Mandawari, is according to oral narratives, a Fulfulde expression which originated from the marketing mantra of a Fulani trader, namely manda wari, literally "salt come", which translates into 'salt is now available, come buy it' (In another version, Mandawari was a person's name as revealed in classification (v) earlier). The following is a complete list of wards in this category:

Sabon Gari (new town)	Jam-bulo (red bricks)
Dogon Nama (long meat/tall animal)	Kar-ka-sara (don't cut/chop)
Dakata (stop)	Jar-kasa (red soil)
Rijiyar Lemo	Zage (diversion)
Rijiya Hudu (four wells)	Shahuci (endure the heat)
Mazan Kwarai (true men)	Jakara (pull the stalk)
Unguwa Uku (three wards	Ayagi (let it be chipped off)
Ka-buwaya (you are unconquerable)	Sabon-Sara (new settlement)
Gwammaja (red is preferable)	Sha-tsari (drink millet-soaked water)
Mandawari (in Fulfulde:	salt (is available) come (buy it))

Gwammaja was derived from *gwamma ja* "red is better" in reference to a preference people had for a certain red- (fair-) skinned person than a certain dark-skinned one. Kabuga was derived from ka "you" buga "struggled", in reference to a legendary fighter who struggled hard and defied the enemy.

(viii) Wards with Double Membership

The classification of wards into these discrete groups is done by observing the nature of their names, which gives a clue to the origin of such names. While a majority of the ward names fit into one category or another, certain names can fit into two categories simultaneously. For example, Tudun Wazirci which belongs to category (iii), royalty, due to the word wazirci (a derivative from waziri 'vizier') can also fit in category (i) for it has the word tudu 'hill' in it, which is a landscape feature. Similarly, Bakin-ruwa 'black pool of category (i) natural geographical features, can also belong to category (vii) due to its descriptive nature. Further examples are given below:

Rimin Kira	(i) and (iv)
Chediyar Kuda	(i) and (vii)
Kwarin Mabuga	(i) and (iv)
Durumin Iya	(i) and (v)
Kurnar Asabe	(i) and (v)
Tudu Murtala	(i) and (v)
Tudun Wada	(i) and (v)

Conclusion

In this study, there was an attempt to investigate the origin of ward names in the contemporary city of Kano, based on linguistic evidence, with a view of establishing the etymology

of each of the names. The names have been categorized into eight types of derivative processes. It was shown that while most of the names fit into one category or another, a few names belong to two categories simultaneously. It became clear from the study that the naming of wards in Kano follows global trends, where places are named after famous people, geographical landmarks, professional or occupational groups, expansion trends, etc. The study also revealed that Kano had all along been a cosmopolitan city that was culturally and ethnically diverse. Despite the diversity, however, evidence shows that immigrants into the city tended to live with their fellow clan members or town mates before they slowly relocated to other paces. They also tended to rally around some famous person who they considered their leader or model. This study is, as far as this researcher is aware, the first linguistic analysis of ward names in any Hausa town or city. It is hoped that other studies will follow along these lines for a better understanding of this fascinating area of study. One area worth further investigation is the origin of the names of towns, villages, rivers, and lakes that surround Kano. Another area is the naming of markets, palace gates, and even the historical significance of the naming process itself.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Kano's Last Millennium?

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Introduction

The millennium appears to hold some fascination for people over the ages. In the past, it was mainly religious sects and cults that based their teachings of the apocalypse and doomsday on the turn of the millennium. Many were the followers of those sects and cults who sat or, rather more appropriately, stood - waiting expectantly for the promised deliverance on the day prophesized to be the last in the Divine master plan.

Although such predictions have not come to pass, the millennium bug is so ingrained in the psyche of individuals having been with us for a very long time. Even in this Age of reason and enlightenment, man has continued to view with apprehension if not trepidation the approach of the millennium.

Today, it is not so much that God will put a stop to the great ticking hand of the great clock he had set from day one on the day of creation. The fear, rather, is about all those contraptions upon which man had become so much dependent - the computer - falling apart or going away in a phenomenon dubbed the Y2K bug. However, for us the immediate concern is not necessarily the truth or falsity of the

millennium bug; it is not even about the magnitude of the ensuring crises arising from the computer crashes and data losses so frighteningly painted in lurid colors by the experts. While that may or may not come to pass as did so many other apocalyptic predictions in the past, our immediate worry in this paper is to address the place of Kano in the next millennium. In other words, having seen the first millennium, what are the chances that Kano's second millennium is also not her last?

One Thousand Years And So…

We are here celebrating the existence of Kano and its history over the last 1000 years. Of what importance or significance is such a celebration or, to put it in another way: What are we celebrating?

If the answer is that having reached this age is in itself a cause for celebration, then we are mistaken. Mere existence does not call for celebration - after all rocks and rivers, animals and plants live for hundreds of years and that does not call forth for celebrations. In our case we should only engage in celebrations if indeed we have cause or reason to celebrate and, as I have, said merely being is not enough justification for revelry, merry-making, chest thumping and back slapping.

However, if the purpose of this gathering is to engage in critical self-appraisal as a people, a culture, a society and a civilization with a view to righting our wrongs and consolidating on our gains then Kano, the Kanawa, both locally and in the diaspora and indeed the entire nation would be the better for it. Our meeting here would not have been in vain but as part of the legitimate quest to put the Kano and the

Hausa language where they rightly belong both nationally and internationally.

Starting From the Beginning

Having set out the parameters I now turn to Kano's past in the belief that we can only know where we are heading if we knew where we were coming from. Our past strengths and triumphs should be the galvanizing energy which further fires our zeal for a brighter and better future, while a proper appreciation of our failures ought to serve as a guide as to which traps or pitfalls we should avoid.

In all civilizations, material culture occupies an important position in the entire corpus of the civilization. For all civilizations past and contemporary the first and, almost always, the most damaging assault, that could be done against it is to attack its material culture. The story of the Trojan horse illustrates how an otherwise invulnerable city fell so easily and cheaply).

Any story of Kano dealing with its origin must of necessity start with the *Dutsen Dala*, the inhabitants surrounding the hill, the activities on top of it and the centrality of the hill to the people in the Kano area. *Dutsen Dala* is therefore *sine qua non* with the history of Kano and, for this reason we need to look to see what had become of it today. Whatever answer we get is a pointer to our seriousness or lack of it, our pride or otherwise in what is our history.

As the focal point of Kano's history, *Dutsen Dala* does not deserve the cavalier manner in which we have treated its deterioration to a point where today, even youths in their teens born and bred in Kano cannot say where the direction of the *Dutsen Dala* is, not to talk of visiting the place! It is not

surprising therefore that even tourist guides appear to be shy telling foreign visitors that the dusty, badly battered mound on which they stand is the famous *Dutsen Dala*. This is because there is little or no difference between the surrounding landscape and the little elevation called *Dutsen Dala*.

However, it is possible to raise objection on the ground that since *Dutsen Dala* was a mere natural phenomenon, a formation that could and does suffer from the effects of the elements - erosion, denudation, wear and tear, etc. - it was bound to diminish in size until it almost become unnoticeable or undifferentiated from the surrounding. The argument we are advancing is not hinged on the size - which could even, be preserved - but on the significance of the edifice as a historical landmark.

Another argument could be advanced: Since there was virtually no human input in the making of *Dutsen Dala* there ought not to be any gnashing of teeth or waiting over its loss. Those making this kind of observation may not have fully grasped the import of the *Dutsen Dala* itself whose neglect and abandonment may imperil the credibility of the history of Kano as a civilization.

The Issue of Badalar Kano

Even if we grant that the *Dutsen Dala* was a mere gift of nature for which we need not exert ourselves in its maintenance - a position that is patently as illogical as it is untenable - we would be hard put to explain the grossly, shoddy and off-hand behaviour we have exhibited towards the *badalar* Kano.

The *badala* represents many things to the people of Kano. It was a symbol of their industry, unity, cooperation

and purity. The mental, physical and even spiritual exertions that went into the construction of the *badala* are things that ought not to be taken lightly since, to do so, is to underplay and undervalue the very significance of the magnificent sacrifices made by our forefathers.

Unfortunately that is exactly what we, the Kanawa, have done. Today the *badala* lay in ruins - a mocking symbol of our failure as a people to earn what we have inherited from our fathers. Daily is the sight of people hacking away at this edifice with relish and criminal abandon, what it had taken years of sweat and toil to put in place. Neither the government, which ought to be the custodian of this monument, nor the people whose heritage it is appear concerned. In fact, when a couple of years ago I raised the issue in my column in the *Sunday Triumph*, at least one person told me that I must be running out of ideas to descend to the issue of the *badala* while there were other more important issues at stake.

But, as I argued in the said article, if we couldn't engage in the restoration of the *badala* at least we owe it to posterity to stop the deliberate destruction we were subjecting it to. Elsewhere it is those houses which have been illegally built on or near the *badala* that should be pulled down. Here we demolish the *badala* for the simple and selfish reason of wanting to extend our houses or create a quicker and more direct access route to the houses. Rather than heed this warning, the government has ignored the decimation of the little that remained of the *badala*.

The area from Kofar Dan Agundi to Kofar Kabuga has one of the best and fairly well preserved sections of the *badala* which common sense dictates should lie the area to

concentrate attention on and jealously protect from predatory land grabbers.

However, today it is the government that is at the forefront in this mad quest to efface and totally wipe out completely any remaining vestiges of Kano's historic past as represented by the presence of the *badala*. Plots of land on or near the *badala* are being given to individuals to build shops and other structures which clearly eclipse the *badala* and render any future attempt to reclaim and rebuild the structure all the more difficult and remote.

Because of the narrow, self-centred pursuits of a tiny few the labors of our forefathers are overshadowed by ugly concrete structures and because we are a complaint people so lazy and unconcerned we have left them to escape with this brazen theft, destruction and despoliation of our natural heritage.

If this is how we are, if this is how we behave, how can we hope to make it into the next millennium? And this is why I now turn from the past to the future.

The Unplanned Future

A people that has no history or that has lost one must position itself to create one so as not to limp aimlessly and directionless from one epoch to the other. The Kanawa ought to gird their loins for the race ahead, a race which they cannot afford to lose in this age of intellect, science, reason and enlightenment. The prognosis is not, however, cheering. In this age the only secure future lies in education, but Kano continues to lag behind, failing to consolidate even in those areas where she was the pioneer.

Statistics released by the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board, JAMB, showed that of the 96,884 candidates that took the 1978 Joint Matriculation Examination only a paltry 973 did so at the Kano center while Lagos had 10,081 candidates, Enugu 6,203 candidates, Ibadan 6,210 candidates, Aba 4,758, Benin 5,623 candidates. In terms of total number of students enrolled in all the Universities as at the 1977/78 session, Kano was the 13th state out of the then 19 states.

A look at the enrollment into the universities revealed that except in the Kano-based Bayero University and the Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria, students from the south far outnumber the total figure of students from Kano. At the University of Jos, for example, there were virtually more students from all the states than there were from Kano except for Lagos and Borno states.

This pattern was also evident at the University of Maiduguri which should be of some attraction to Kano students. The Emir of Kano, His Royal Highness Alhaji Ado Bayero, was Chancellor of the institution, yet there were more students from Bendel (Edo), Cross River, Imo and Kwara states, among others, than there were from Kano. The only other university in addition to Bayero and ABU where there was a substantial Kano presence is the Usumanu Danfodio University, Sokoto.

What is worrisome about this paucity in numbers is that the trend does not appear to be diminishing but escalating. JAMB figures for 1985, still under the then 19 states structure, showed that out of a total figure of 212,342 candidates who applied for university admission only 1,544 were of Kano origin representing a mere 0.7% of the total. And

given that it was quite common for candidates to give false information regarding their states so that they could fall under the "educationally disadvantaged states" (of which Kano was one) status even this figure should be treated with utmost caution.

To get what may possibly be a better index for arriving at the correct position of Kano vis-a -vis other states - particularly the non-Hausa speaking states - we examined the subjects offered by these candidates as provided by the JAMB. Still using the 1985 figures, as contained in JAMB's annual report, of the 168,348 candidates for the matriculation exams, only 0.2% sat for Hausa compared to 3.3% and 2.6% for .Yoruba and Igbo respectively. Hausa was surpassed even by French which recorded 0.4% but did better than Arabic and Music with 0.1% apiece.

In terms of male and female distribution in the number of applicants, there were more female applicants from Anambra, Bendel, Benue, Cross River, Imo, Kwara, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo and Rivers states than the entire applicants from Kano. To illustrate, while Kano had a total of 404 applicants, the female applicants from Ondo state alone were 10 times more than this number with 4,263 out of the state's 15,676 candidates.

Analyzing the performance of the candidates in the various subjects, the mean score for Hausa was 24.82 out of which 58.10% were reported to have scored 50 and above. Compared with Igbo and Yoruba, the mean scores and percentages of 50 and above are 30.47, 87.46%, 27.73 and 77.24 respectively. When we turn to the candidate's total scores by states Kano had only 0.2% of her candidates scoring 180 points and above in stark contrast to Anambra's 15.4%, Bendel's

16.3% and Imo's 19.7%. Even Cross River, considered an educationally disadvantaged state had an impressive 4.9%.

What all these figures point to, is that Kano is severely ill-equipped to take her rightful position among the states of the federation given her status in terms of human and natural resources endowment. With the recent permission granted some private concerns to establish Universities, the people of Kano may further find their numbers in Universities being marginally reduced in relative if not absolute terms. Out of the four new Universities give the go-ahead, three were in the South and the only Northern based was given a provisional approval!

However, before we became our detractors, as we are want to do, for this lopsidedness, we must pause to ask: What happened to the Science Schools that were pioneered by Kano? What became the fate of the Primary Schools Board? Why does the Bagauda University exist only in the archival files of the state Ministry of Education? Why does the government frustrate the attempts of those students able and willing to pursue courses at University level by limiting their choices to the so-called "priority courses?"

Instead of advancing, Kano appears to be regressing in all area including those in which it had in the past been a pacesetter. Today, on the eve of the 21st century, thousands of school-aged children continue to roam the streets begging in the name of *almajirci* at a time when their peers elsewhere in the country are busy in classrooms, technical workshops and science and computer laboratories which is the only assurance for meaningful participation in national affairs and the global village that is our world.

Governments of Kano and by their acquiescence - the Kano people themselves) have failed in putting into motion all of those beautiful submissions and proposals so lucidly outlined by various experts for the realization of the dreams that one only hears nowadays on the lips of praise singers - Kano, *jalla babbar Hausa*.

A visit to our primary and secondary schools shows blatant signs of neglect in the provision and care of basic instructional materials not to talk of dispirited students and an equally frustrated staff. This state of affairs is not restricted to rural based schools which were traditionally made places for punitive postings; even in metropolitan based schools within shouting distance of the zonal office fare no better! In fact, in one of the secondary schools in the metropolis with more than 40 classes there was furniture for the students in only 5 or 6 of them, in the rest of the classes the students had to squat on the ground, stand or perch on the windows. The teachers, of course, are no better as they also spread mats under the trees to rest in between classes because the staff room has inadequate furniture for them.

In such a situation it is a wonder that the students even manage to learn anything or the teachers to render some meaningful teaching at all. This is precisely why in virtually all the Universities and other tertiary institutions Kano's quota remains unfilled. In other words, due to the lackadaisical attitude we exhibit towards education ,even the places that should by right go to Kano students are being take up by others because of the insufficient number of candidates with the minimum scores to take up those places. However, given the critical importance of education and the situation the state is in, vis-a-vis other states, one would have thought that the

entire educational sector would be declared a high priority area requiring the massive injection of funds to resuscitate and revitalize the sector even it all the state's resources where to be used solely for such purpose.

Unlike the bureaucrats, I do not share the view that Kano has reached a stage where it can decide which courses her students should or should not pursue. With the available statistics, Kano must to encourage each and every one of her indigenes to pursue undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate studies in any field of his or her choice. This does not preclude, however, the introduction of differential incentives for students enrolled in different courses including those thought to be critical to the manpower needs of the state.

Thus far, the position we have maintained in this paper is that Kano has through benign neglect destroyed her past and, through lack of demonstrable foresight, does not appear to have planned for her future.

What About the Present?

Without a past and/or a fractured one and an uncertain future, the situation at the present in Kano is no less ambiguous. Two things in particular give one a cause for concern. Both of them are tied to the preeminent position which Kano had in the past enjoyed.

First, although, Kano was not the cradle of the Hausa it nevertheless enjoyed the status of its linguistic flag-bearer. For several reasons, linguists adopted *Hausar Kano* (Kano dialect) as the standard for purposes of literary and official publications. Today, however, the language is in danger of distortion arising from the fact that every person with access to a typewriter or computer churns out some gibberish which

he passed on as Hausa literature. This is done with little or no regard for the literary, stylistic, grammatical and orthographic rules of the language not to mention the inherent aesthetics and decorum ingrained in it. Such popular literature has swamped the entire place because there are no mechanisms to ensure that they first met the basic requirements before being offered to the public. This lack of control has led not only to the bastardization of the language, the culture, mores and norms of the people it has given the impression that those upstarts were indeed literary giants.

Secondly, and related to this, is the annoying and disturbing phenomenon found in our media houses - in particular the electronic ones - of accepting and using translations of Hausa words and terms made by foreign media houses and correct ones as the proper ones. I find it objectionable, for instance, to hear a Kano-born newscaster picking up items from a foreigner and passing them as if they were proper and correct Hausa. I am not alone in the feeling - which I get all too often that I need a translator to tell me exactly what the Hausa newscaster and announcers are saying on our local radio and television stations!

But then, again, a people that deliberately destroyed their *badala* - their fortress against external enemies couldn't possibly feel any case of repugnance, shame and trepidation if their language, culture and traditions are viciously assaulted the way they are in the Nigeria mass media or subtly and craftily undermined as the Western media are wont to do with the active connivance of the ignorant local media staff.

Conclusion

The occasion of the *History of Kano in the Second Millennium* is one for sober reflection, since from the issues highlighted in this paper, there is a very serious danger - one arising not from the apocalyptic millennium tradition, but that this indeed may be Kano's last millennium.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

What Makes Kano Tick?

Lady Rose Adaku Mbata

Introduction

Although Kaduna was the capital of the Northern Region and has the friendliest climate in Nigeria, Kano continues to exude a terrific allurement that is not easy to explain. One medico puts it: "Kano is highly infectious and you can feel the viruses in the air."

As a political entity, Kano is a self-governing State within the Federation of the Republic of Nigeria. It is also an Islamic Emirate of the ancient Sokoto Caliphate which resulted from the Jihad of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. Kano metropolis, the capital of Kano State, a large cosmopolitan city, has become the nexus of commercial activities in Northern Nigeria. Within this modern metropolis exists the walled ancient Kano City in which the Emir of Kano lives. The city has generously lent its name to the emirate, the metropolis and then the State, in that order. Within one decade after Kano State was created in 1967, it was already leading most of the other five States created alongside with it in terms of commerce, industry and infrastructural development. At this juncture, one is prompted to ask the question: What really makes Kano tick? Kano ticks as a volatile political centre! Kano ticks as an exciting cultural centre! Kano ticks as a

bubbling and foremost business centre! What makes Kano tick?

"What makes Kano tick" is a subtitle of a chapter in my book, *Alhaji Ado Bayero and the Royal Court of Kano* (1994). This presentation though of the same title and conception as the aforementioned chapter, is not necessarily lifted from that chapter but it loans strongly the entire book. Accordingly, it duly acknowledges relevant information sourced from the book This paper concisely but critically examines Kano, its people, its culture, and its history within the time frame of the second millennium with a view to unearthing the intricately linked factors that give vent to the electrifying forces which tend to give Kano its apparent magnetism and put it a step ahead of its peers politically, culturally and commercially.

Historical and Cultural Background

The present Dala Hill was the nucleus of Kano. From legend and recorded history we gather that a man called Dala, son of Gargaji, lived with his family of seven on top of the hill which today bears his name. Dala consisted of a number of hamlets around the Dala Hill. *Kasar Dala* had no distinguished chief as every male adult was seemingly head of his own family. With time, *Barbushe*, a highly skilled man outstanding in hunting, herbal medicine and magic, was to emerge as leader. Barbushe incidentally was said to be the great grandson of Dala and a high priest of *Tsumburbura*. He controlled other priests-chiefs and was more interested in his priestly office than in wielding political authority. *Kasar Dala* was later to coalesce with other settlements around the Dala Hill to evolve into a large town from Jakara up to Damargu and farther to Sheme. The area was called Gazargawa.

Around 999, Bagauda, son of Bawo and grandson of Bayajida settled in one of these clans about forty kilometers north-west of present Kano and imposed himself on the heirs of Barbushe, The conflict that ensued continued for a long time and at the end Bagauda and his descendants emerged victorious. According to Hausa folklore, Bayajida was the serpent-slaying hero of Daura and ancestor of the seven Hausa cities of Daura, Kano, Katsina, Zazzau, Rano, Gobir and Garun Gabas.

Thus, Bagauda founded the Have dynasty that held forth for eight centuries. Bagauda came to power in 999, a little more than a Village Head and by 1805 when the Fulanis vanquished Alwali, his descendant on the throne, Kano was a vast Kingdom, extending up to Tsanyawa, Kunchi and Dambatta in the north-west, Gwarzo and Karaye in the west, Babura and Garki in the north, Jahun and Kiyawa in the north-east, Tudun Wada in the south and Gwaram in the south-east.

As soon as he settled down, Bagauda started elaborating on the system, converting names of his companions into titles and co-opting some of the priest-chiefs of *Tsumburbura* into the fold. For example, Buram became a title "Dan Buram". Later, as he fought and won battles, he honored the valiant with military titles. He created the *Madaki* and *Galadima* titles. Through battles, the area under Bagauda's rulership - *Kasar Kano* - continued to expand but the capital retained its name, *Dala*. It took another century before the capital *Dala* became known as Birnin Kano.

The Bagauda House ruled Kasar Kano for more than four and a half centuries from 999 to 1469 through nineteen Kings before the baton changed to the Rumfa House. The last

king from Gidan Bagauda was Sarki Yakubu dan Abdullahi. During this era Kano had good relationship with its neighbors. Iron works and agriculture were improved. The first city wails were built. The worship of *Tsumburbura* was in vogue. Trade routes were opened from Kano to the old Ghana Kingdom and to North Africa through Borno. Arabs, Tuaregs, Malians and Kanuris were attracted to Kano and trade flourished.

The House of Rumfa ruled Kano for 160 years through nine rulers. Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) was the Patriarch of Gidan Rumfa. He was innovative and ingenious. During this era, Kasar Kano had unprecedented growth in all spheres of development - administration, trade, education, religion, infrastructure, etc. It was Rumfa who established the *Tara ta Kano*, a privy council to advise the King on political, legal and administrative matters. Rumfa encouraged learning, commerce and the practice of Islam. He built the first *Masallacin Juma'a* in Kano. Naturally, the prosperity of Kasar Kano aroused jealousy from the neighbors who desired to control the lucrative trans-Saharan trade. For example, the powerful Idris Katagambe of Borno Mai Borno) invaded Kano during the reign of Rumfa's successor, Sarki Abdullahi Burja (1499-1509). Supposedly to appease Mai Bornu, Abdullahi and his cabinet humiliated themselves before Idris and went out to meet him. When Kisoki came to the throne in 1509 he would not tolerate any intimidation from Bornu. He launched an offensive against Nguru in Borno Kingdom. Several counter-attacks by Bornu were unsuccessful. Thus, Kisoki earned the love, respect and admiration of his subjects and was popularly called *Kisoki maganin Bornu* (Kisoki: the tranquilizer of Bornu).

Muhammadu Na Zaki (1618-1623) was the last of the nine rulers of the House of Rumfa.

The last Have House that ruled Kano, Gidan Kutumbi, had Sarki Kutumbi dan Muhammadu (1623-1648) as patriarch and fifteen rulers on the whole. During this era, Kano consolidated its position as a force to reckon with - military, commercial and a growing Moslem domain. Kutumbi built several rest houses within and outside the walled city, His reign witnessed a series of fierce battles with Katsina including the famous besieging of Birnin Katsina for nine months which earned him the pet name "shutter of the great gate" and he died from battle wounds sustained while fighting for Kano.

Muhammadu Sherefa (1703-1731) was security conscious and brought muskets from the coast to fortify *Kasar Kano*. He also introduced the use of cowries as legal tender in Kano. Muhammadu Alwali was the last ruler of the Habe dynasty. Despite his spirited attempts to fortify the Kingdom, he was overrun by the Jihadists and killed in 1805. A total of forty-three Kings of the Have Dynasty ruled Kano from Bagauda to Alwali, 999-1805.

The Jihadists changed the entire history of Kano. Sulaimanu was appointed the first Fulani Emir by the leader of the Jihad, Uthman dan Fodio. After Suleimanu, Muhammadu Bello who was successor to Uthman dan Fodio directed the four Fulani clan leaders who had played prominent roles in the Jihad to select the next Emir, thus marking the inauguration of the king-making council. They selected Ibrahim Dabo, the patriarch of the present ruling house. Alhaji Ado Bayero (1963 to date) is the thirteenth Emir of the Fulani dynasty.

Today, the Emir of Kano no longer wields constitutional powers. He is recognized and respected on his merit as the spiritual and traditional ruler of his people and the custodian of the culture of the Hausa nation of Kano. He is an important adviser to the government and a bridge between the government and the people.

Commerce and Industry

Commerce and industry constitute the bedrock of the popularity of Kano, We have seen earlier in this paper that right from the era of the Bagauda House, Kano had trade links with to Kingdom of Ghana and across the Sahara to North Africa. Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa was to boost commerce in the kingdom by two major policy decisions. The first was the construction of the Kurmi market for artworks and crafts, which attracted traders from far and wide across Africa. And the second was the construction of the Kano Central Mosque. This attracted renowned Islamic scholars from the Arab world. We have it on record that Leo Africanus visited Kano in 1513. On his return to Morocco, Leo Africanus told beautiful stories of the business potentials and the resourcefulness of the people of Kano and aroused the interest of leading international merchants. These factors together put Kano on the world map as an important trans-Saharan caravan trade route from the Sudan to the Arab World. Thus, the people of Kano have had a long-term social interaction with the big business centers of the world, starting from Timbuctu and Cairo to London, New York and Tokyo and the various civilizations associated with these, since the middle ages. These interactions have expanded over the years and are now part and parcel of the normal way of life of the people.

Today, every child born into the Kano cultural system is indoctrinated to believe that Kano is a kind of "God's own country" capable of responding competently to any challenge. There is a popular saying: *Jalla Babbar Hausa, gari ba Kano ba, dajin Allah. Yaro ko da me ka zo an fi ka*. This business mentality predisposes the people to being hospitable to strangers and visitors.

Kano State, which incidentally coincides with Kano Emirate, has a population of over nine million 2006, and one of the highest density of population in Africa. This huge population is cosmopolitan in Kano Metropolis and sustains a robust market both for consumer and capital goods.

It is therefore not surprising that Kano is today, a thriving industrial and commercial city. The dye-pits of Kano around Kofar Mata are reputed to be over one thousand years old. Before and shortly after independence in 1960, Nigeria led the whole world in the production of groundnuts and Kano was the headquarters of the groundnut belt of Nigeria. Groundnuts were stacked up in huge pyramids which towered into the sky. This eventually gave rise to the numerous vegetable oil mills which are today dotted all over *Bompai*. Hides, skins and leather products formed part of the commodities that were traded on the trans-Saharan route. Even though the route changed, the trade is very much on. The hides and skin market in Kano is a stone-throw from Sabon Gari market, directly opposite the Coca-Cola factory, off the Murtala Mohammed Way. This trade gave rise to the numerous leather tanning factories.

Today, the great business minds in the cotton industry in Kano have taken that vital step to integrate forward and we now have assorted textile factories concentrated in Bompai,

Sharada and Challawa producing different fabrics. In addition to all these, Kano has specialized markets for arts and crafts, metal products, cereals, tropical fruits, kolanuts, textiles and vegetables as well as markets for services like hotels of international class, real estate, transportation, telecommunication and tourism. Besides, there is a truck assembly plant and an NNPC depot linked by a pipe line to the Kaduna refinery.

A good network of smooth roads adorns the landscape of Kano metropolis. And first class high ways link Kano with the other States of the Federation. The Malam Aminu Kano Airport is one of the four international airports in Nigeria. Kano is not a sea port but it is a "railway inland port." Goods arriving any of the main ports in Nigeria can be "shipped" by rail directly to Kano through the services of the Inland Containers Limited, where such goods will then be cleared by the Customs and other port agents. It follows therefore, that on a daily basis, people troop from the four corners of the country, nay from other African countries to satisfy their needs in the Kano market.

Leadership

If all the other factors that make Kano tick are likened to a television set, then leadership can be likened to the electricity that energizes the system. Leadership is intangible but more than any other factor, it has raised Kano from nothingness to a towering height of influence among the comity of ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. *Kasar Kano* was blessed with talented men of vision and patriotism who continue to move the system with dedication and altruism right from the onset. Men endowed with wisdom and

creativity. We shall take a few examples to substantiate our claims.

When Bagauda overthrew the descendants of Barbushe and established his dynasty, he set up administrative machinery that has survived till this day. We noted earlier that Rumfa was an outstanding leader. When Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) ascended the throne of Kano, he was reported to have sought and obtained counsel from a very learned Islamic scholar, Sheikh Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Abdulkarim al-Maghili of Tilemcen in North Africa. Al-Maghili responded by giving Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa a book titled *The Obligations of Princes*. The book dealt in depth with the component and conduct of a King. Armed with knowledge from this book, Rumfa was inspired to propound and effect radical political and economic changes in Kano. He installed a more efficient revenue collecting system, and to improve trade he ordered the building of the present craft market - *Kasuwar Kurmi* - reported to be the largest of its type in West Africa. This attracted many merchants from all over Africa and the Arab world. To further attract more immigrant Muslim traders, Rumfa built the first Friday mosque and this was a master stroke. Celebrated Islamic scholars like the Sheikh Abdulrahman al-Zaghaiti and his followers were attracted to Kano to teach and enlighten the people of Kano on Islamic tenets.

It was Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa who built the present palace of the Emir of Kano, *Gidan Rumfa*, which still bears his name. Rumfa inherited the old palace at Madabo and saw it was not befitting for the ruler of Kano. He therefore set out constructing a befitting palace which has stood the test of time.

The period between the accessions of Muhammadu Abbas in 1903 to the succession of Abdullahi Bayero as the tenth Emir of Kano in 1926 has been described as a watershed in the history of Kano. Emir Abbas was the first British appointee. This was a transition period from traditional emirate rule to British colonial rule and the British were bent on establishing themselves as the new masters in Kano emirate. The strategies lined up to implement this policy offended and at times humiliated members of the ruling class. Abdullahi Bayero was one of the few princes who had the guts to openly express his defiance of the new system neither bothering about the repercussion of his actions nor the possible loss of his appointment as Emir in the future. However, when eventually he ascended the throne, he demonstrated his outstanding leadership traits through the many projects he embarked on.

He expanded the palace to accommodate the large turn-out for the weekly meetings with the District Officers. He built the city Hospital, the middle school at Dan Agundi quarters (now Rumfa College), the Wudil Bridge and the Arabic Law School. He also extended the Juma'at mosque, built a weaving centre at Gwammaja quarters and constructed many roads. He loved travelling. He travelled to England in 1934. Again in 1937, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca as the first Emir of Kano to earn that name. Abdullahi Bayero also introduced important reforms in Local Government Administration. He encouraged both Islamic education and Western education in Kano Emirate.

On the other hand, the incumbent Emir, Alhaji Ado Bayero, came to the throne when Kano was divided into two opposing factions following the deposition of his elder

brother, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi by the then NPC Government in Kaduna. With characteristic subtleness and charisma, Alhaji Ado Bayero was able to mend fences and restore unity and peace to Kano. Despite the loss of constitutional powers, Alhaji Ado Bayero has been able to play his role of advising government so well that the effects have catalyzed the most remarkable developments in Kano emirate.

Politically, Kano sprang from a mere province of the Northern Region to the status of a full-fledged, self-governing State. Economically, Kano sprouted from an antique trans-Saharan trade route to a momentous commercial and industrial centre in Africa. Socially, Kano blossomed into a leading and influential State in Nigeria, and Kano metropolis developed into a renowned, cosmopolitan city out-pacing even the old Regional capitals in prominence.

Kano's leadership blessing did not end with traditional rulers. The blessing was extended to the political arena. Police Commissioner Audu Bako (1967-1975) who had the unique privilege of being the first Governor of Kano State was one such outstanding leader. Although he was an indigene of Sokoto State, he put his talents to work with full commitment and the results were spectacular. It was he who developed Kano into a modern city. Most of the present infrastructure in Kano can easily be traced to his planning. He can rightfully be called the architect of modern Kano. Alhaji Muhammadu Abubakar Rimi, the first civilian Governor of Kano State (1979-1983), did his best to improve the lot of the people of Kano especially in the areas of education, information and provision of basic amenities to the rural populace. Kano has also produced exciting leaders at the Federal level like General

Murtala Muhammed (1975-1976) who created sensation at the Federal Government with his style of leadership.

Great business leaders like the Dantatas, the Dangote's, the Ishaqa Rabius, the Nabegus, the Mai Turares and a host of others have continued to dominate the business landscape of Nigeria with colossal strides. These great men seem to have imparted their God-given charm to their environment severally and collectively.

Conclusion

These industrial, commercial and cultural infrastructure and the concomitant business activities have yielded a harvest of affluent, psychologically balanced, culturally proud and politically assertive citizen over the years. This is the secret behind the tremendous influence of Kano on the business, social and political lives of this great country.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Kano: the City, the Literature and the Media

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Introduction

City as an entity and as a process and phenomenon has fascination for various disciplines as it provides a basis and framework for the understanding of human achievement. This has prompted Haider (1985) to describe the city as 'a school without walls, a library without bookshelves, and a classroom without desks, blackboards and chalk. There are no identifiable teachers, no uniformed class of students'. He further sees the city as an anthropological manuscript with all its misspellings and torn pages, but also an abode of a society's saints and sinners (1985). Thus, the city is also an honest expression of society's beliefs and values. This indicates that a city in itself is enough a teacher and its citizens are its students, as Haider (1985) further said city citizens never graduate. The city always has something to offer. It is therefore not surprising when a city becomes a meeting point for all kind of writers and critics.

For the writer, the city is his laboratory and also a text from which he receives inspiration for his writings because writers must write out of what they see around them and they

must write truthfully about it, or come to terms with what is ugly in it, and pretend that it is not bad. This might be the reason why some citizens of the city must make their voices heard through the medium of writing.

Adamu (1998) observed that literature is a clear reflection of societal happenings. He further argues that writers as custodians of literature do not exist in a vacuum rather, they write out of their accumulative experiences derived from the existing social framework and reality operating in the society in which they live. Thus, a writer's creative writers in particular) output is to a large degree a product of his personal or societal experiences.

The critic on the other hand is not there to create stories but to study them. Writers' expressions in terms of stories, poems or plays need to be studied carefully in order to understand their meaning and ascertain their relevance to the society. This has become necessary as the society has its own measures of checking excesses. Writers like other citizens can do good to the society and can as well do harm. Therefore, writers can sometimes get into trouble when critics refuse or fail to appreciate their work.

The City

By all standards, Kano is a city. It is an old city dating back to over one thousand years, the largest inland port south of the Sahara, and a major commercial and industrial centre. It is a dual-city centre. These features have given it the capacity to pull populations from far and near to its two-city structure traditional and modern) existing side by side. Kano City therefore becomes an active centre of culture, learning and commerce.

Kano offers a lot of activities and services to keep the writer and the critic very busy. It is enough a laboratory and a library as well as enough a market for the writer to develop and propagate his ideas and sell his books. It is enough a landscape with all its highlands and valleys to allow the emergence, growth and cultivation of all kinds of ideas and criticisms.

One is bound to find all kinds of taste and inclination for different literary themes, styles, and languages in a heterogeneous and cosmopolitan place like Kano. It was therefore not surprising when in the 1950's and 1960's as well as the late 1970's Kano produced strong poetic voices that have greatly influenced the political life of the people - protest and progress. In the 1990's, Kano City led the bandwagon of neo-religious singers, whose traditional roles were earlier restricted to places of worship but extended into other social segments of the society. Writers and other producers of art over the years entertained the citizens, but also interpreted and documented happenings in the society at a point in time.

The Literature

Kano did not produce a large number of novelists until recently, but it has produced a good number of prolific and important poets. Perhaps poetry is an easier and quicker medium of expression than the novel. However, from the mid-80s Kano pioneered the re-emergence of the new Hausa novelist. One may ask, why have Sakkwato, Katsina or Zaria not pioneered it? It is only right to argue that Kano City was a more fertile ground than those other cities for the reasons already provided.

The new Hausa novelists emerged in Kano somehow out of circumstances, and this can be reflected in their themes, plots, characterization, style and language. First there was a sort of gap or vacuum created as established writers no longer get their books published. Secondly, the publishing firms publishing indigenous creative works notably NNPC/Macmillan, Evans Brothers, Oxford University Press, Huda-Huda, Albah, Triumph, etc. have been unable to sustain the publication of creative works for so many reasons.

They emerged without publishers, without good distribution system and without financial backing. Even if the existing social order is not interested in promoting literature for whatever reason, creative writers see to it that creativity survive.

Young people who became very interested in creative writing and could not get publishers, began author-publishing (Adamu, 1994). This gave birth to the new Hausa novel and writing. The availability of computers and printing presses as observed by Adamu (1999) encouraged the phenomenon of the new Hausa writing in general and novel in particular.

The new Hausa novelist turned out to be a young person whose interest in politics is minimal, perhaps due to prolonged military rule that dominated his inner vision and experience. The new Hausa novelist of today seems to be more comfortable in raising social questions than political ones at the initial stage. This explains why the earlier books were on love stories.

From the mid-1980s the new Hausa novels started to be published until 1990 when the new Hausa novel became stable and markets were flooded with all kinds of books. One important book that influenced these writers was Gidan

Dabino's *In Da So Da Kauna*. This novel is so romantic and so radical that adolescents liked it so much. Among the things that made this novel appealing to them is the soft loving words used in the novel. It also gave the radical alternative to forced marriage, as shown in the following translated excerpt:

> *When the final hour approached, she finished her preparation for taking her life. She went straight to an old well renowned for its depth, but now out of use due to technological advancements. Drowning would be quicker and she was not likely to be spotted before the act. Besides, the water was bound to be cold and comforting, especially to an eternal visitor.*
>
> *She opened the cover with difficulty, which had become rusty due to long age and peered inside. Ah, the water level was high. Therefore, she need not bother. Sink, she must. No fear of floating on the surface.*
>
> *"Well, darling I have been true to my words. You alone; no one else. Well, I will be here waiting for your arrival. With luck, we will be happily married to each other there and live a life of our aspiration". She said.*
>
> *She took a deep breath then flung leg down into the empty void of the well. Slash! Sumayya's journey through the dark void of the old well came to an end. She became violently sprawled onto a bed rock… pages 42 – 43).*

The novels that emerged after this novel provided similar difficult options. They also have bias against the rich in the sense that in most of these books are struggles between love and power. Between the poor and the rich and in which the poor love) always triumph over the rich power). Certainly, these options are contrary to what the Hausa society would consider as being in informed and rational option.

Romance forms the framework upon which most novels in Kano are based. This is manifest in their plot, style,

language, characterization, settings and cover designs. Love is always of primary importance and its triumph over any other thing is assured even if it makes the novel 'irrational'. What are the determinants of this trend? Well there are some basic reasons, which can be seen as the major determinants of the romantic trend as observed by Adamu (1996).

1. Age: Most of these young novelists are very young. Their age ranged from 15 – 35 years when they started writing
2. Marital Status: Majority was single when they started writing and their major preoccupation was love
3. Level of Education and Exposure to Variety Literature: Although creativity is a natural gift and does not necessarily defend on level of education, the more educated a writer is the more polished and will most likely have wider scope of thinking. As with our case, majority of the new Hausa novelists has up to secondary education while some had no formal education at all. Few have post-secondary qualifications with some having higher degree qualifications. Most of the novelists also have not exposed themselves to a variety of literature. These reasons may have some influence on how they perceive things and how they judge and write
4. Cinema and Television: Because most of the young novelists also go to cinema very often as well watch video movies. Their thought is greatly influenced by romance movies Indian movies). In fact, most of these writers were more interested in making movies than writing. They only settled for literature because they cannot afford movie production. This is manifested in

the trend of adopting books into home videos nowadays.

5. Readership and Market: Since majority of these books are romantic there is little doubt that the adolescent and or young people would form the bulk of the readership hence the market. Novelists in the business have to conform to some requirements Romantic) in order to sell. It has become a bottleneck to those authors who wish to radically change their themes. The only few novelists that are now able to break away from this readership grip are those that are established and have made names

Why The Media?

The phenomena as a whole can be seen as an attempt of expressing alternative views by young people on some aspects of our social life especially marriage. However, the novel as an entity has its good side and bad sides. Its good side, from the mid-80s to date, is that it has raised the level of literacy tremendously particularly among married women in Kano (Bichi, 1999).

Although cosmopolitan areas with heterogeneous population tend to be liberal, Kano as a city is not. Kano as a twin--city is always witnessing the struggles between tradition and modernity in the sense that Islamic culture is deeply rooted in the social and psychological superstructure of the city life. On the other hand, the *power* of modernity is seriously becoming influential. Thus, one cannot easily dismiss the dominance of culture and religion in the values shaping city life. The implications are that things that would otherwise be

accepted or ignored in a cosmopolitan setting become bare in Kano as tradition competes side by side with modernity.

As regard to appreciation of literary works, producers of works of art always seem to have explanation for what they produce. 'The critic however will always ask questions and search for new perspectives on a particular work of art. The critic can praise or condemn a work of art. The critic can be objective or subjective. Depending on what the critic wants, he can review a work of art by using the right perspective or the wrong one. However, the relationship between a writer and a critic is symbiotic as each depends on the other.

The situation in Kano is more or less a funny one in that the academia, until much recently, has not shown interest in the new writing. It was passive and nonchalant to the emergence, growth and implications of the new literary culture. But the city provided an in loon of Muslim clerics, the state-owned media houses and indeed some self-appointed moral crusaders to appreciate this new writing. The academics might see the whole phenomena as a process of transformation but the urban-based critics take the whole phenomena and measure it on the scale of social morality.

This has raised a lot of criticism. The new Hausa novelist literally comes under fire. Alarm was raised about the new writing. Arguments were forwarded that the new novel was an anti-thesis to culture and religion of the city. The novel was dismissed as a child play and full of immorality as well as a threat to education. The use of the media was intensified from articles in the newspapers to public lectures and sermons, radio drama, and television programmes. They have not seen any good about the new Hausa novel.

Thus instead of appreciating and encouraging the new Hausa novelist they condemned him and redefined him and his work as amoral, irresponsible and enemy of tradition. The public was made to despise, ridicule and intimidate him. Reading these books becomes a hobby of only the young, particularly secondary school students. The new Hausa novelist comes face-to-face with the wrath of the city. The state-owned media was effectively used in this offensive. For example, Radio Kano which ironically read these books twice a week condemned them through dramas and discussions. The state-owned television station, CTV 67, did the same so also the state-owned newspaper - *The Triumph*.

Creative Writers in Kano became weary about the mass media campaign against them. The Association of Nigerian Authors, Kano State Branch, made efforts to contact these media houses so that they can be given chance to defend themselves. The electronic media unfortunately refused to allow them chance to air their views. The Triumph was used to publish anti-literature articles and when writers write rejoinders, they will not publish it. Writers in Kano have to use the New Nigerian Weekly to express their views. This has made the writers to raise some vital moral and social questions as regard to the use of state-owned media to castigate them. Writers question whether the state machinery is directly involved in fighting its literature.

Noting that the city is a poor concealer of social injustice and believing that the city is supposed to provide equal opportunity for all its citizens, the media is subjective and transgresses from its ideal and proper role of reporting and documenting events as they are, as guardians of truth.

One cannot deny the fact that the new Hausa novel has its peculiar problems that emanated from the circumstances surrounding the emergence of Hausa novel in colonial Nigeria. Some of these books are mere pupil literature and cannot be taken seriously, but there are those that are to a large degree serious and promising. In this way, it is the responsibility of the state to look at the whole issue objectively and then sift the good from the bad. However, the city and the state unfairly condemned all without reservation. This has serious implications.

Al-Farabi argues that the city should show friendliness towards truth and truthful people and condemn falsehood and those that are inclined to falsehood. Therefore, in our own case, both the accuser and the accused should be given equal chance to defend their views.

It is now interesting to note that the theme of the new Hausa novel is becoming widened. Now you read not only love but crime, thriller, fantasy politics, polygamy and much more. What do we have in the next millennium?

The New Hausa Novel in the Next Millennium

Hausa novels are published in series book 1, book 2, book 3. The cover designs are of beautiful young girls. The stories are about love. The writers are secondary leavers. The new Hausa novel has come a long way. In just a decade and a half it has increased in number and variety. More young and vibrant writers have emerged. The love stories, adventures, detective stories, political satire, fantasies are all with us.

The young writers are growing with their art. The readership is also growing with time, the story lines, styles

and plots are becoming outdated, and the film industry is taking away the established writers.

However, the computer is also more available and accessible; the knowledge of publishing and printing has increased. The writers have also gown up. The society is facing more problems and the century is at its end. We are at the verge of a new millennium.

There are some good indications Hausa novelists are now prepared to publish single novels, their cover designs are now improving, and instead of having young beautiful girls in the cover we now have abstract drawings. Writers are now becoming aware of their relevance and responsibilities and are becoming more committed to improving their society. With these, one can be very optimistic that the next millennium will bring some positive changes in the new Hausa novel.

On the other hand however, the new Hausa novel is being threatened by the growing film industry in Kano. This threat is in two ways, first of all good writers are leaving writing to film production and books, as observed Adamu (1999), are written not as novel, but as screen plays. Secondly, film production business is more profitable and appealing. This will attract more writers into the industry. By this, the flourishing book industry in Kano may suffer some setbacks.

However, more profoundly, it is hoped that the new Hausa novelists will redirect and redefine their focus in the next millennium. When the time comes, the state machinery will be fighting it not because of the kind of immoral and immature stories published, but because of the subject of their stories. They will certainly challenge the status quo and social injustice prevalent in the city.

Conclusion

In the paper, we have tried to examine the ideal city in relation to Kano City. We have examined how a new literary culture has emerged and how the city and its citizens treated it. We have also argued that the city and its citizens have not done justice to its literature and call for redress. Finally, we examined the future of this new literary culture in the next millennium. By way of conclusion, we wish to suggest that the new Hausa novel is a product of the city and its integral part and that it should be supported by the city for city's survival and future.

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Part IV

The Economic Perspective

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Kano and Long Distance Trade in the 19th and 20th Centuries

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Introduction

The State and the long distance trade in the 19th and 20th centuries is the title of this paper and an attempt is made to discuss the topic through the eyes of some selected traders, the actual operators of the system. I think it is not out of place if the paper begins with brief definitions of the following key concepts of the title: The State and Long Distance Trade.

The State in this paper means the present 1999 Kano State founded by Bagauda in 999.[1] including the Districts of Gwaram, Birnin Kudu, Dutse, Kiyawa, Jahun, Garki, Babura and Ringim which were excised in 1991 and merged with the Emirates of Kazaure, Gumel and Hadejia to form the new modern State of Jigawa. This State of Kano under discussion in this paper has maintained an effective boundary since the time of the second Fulani Emir of Kano, Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846)[2]. The State of Kano therefore is an ancient one. It's Iron-smelting sites date back to the seventh century.[3]. Between 1512 and 1513, Leo Africanus, or Al-Hassan Ibn Muhammad Al-Wazzaz al- Zayyate, claimed to have visited the states of

Hausaland, Borno, Goaga and the Nile Valley and said of Kano "…Its inhabitants are skilled craftsmen and wealthy merchants."[4]. In 573, *A*nania quoted a native of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in Croatia who had lived in Kano city in the late 1560s and early 1570's and described Kano as the third largest city in Africa after the two North African cities of Cairo and Fez with some 7500 houses[5]. The State was a pre-colonial industrial and commercial centre and in 1824 was visited by the famous Clapperton and he described the city as the great emporium of the central Negroland.[6] Heinrich Barth was in Kano in 1851 for the first time and was surprised by the huge economic activities of the *Kanawa* and described the city as far-famed on entreport of Central Africa.[7]

This state of Kano was defeated by the British Colonial Forces in 1903 together with the remaining members of the Sokoto Caliphate and eventually brought into the protectorate of Northern Nigeria and in 1914 into the Colony and protectorate of Nigeria. The impact of colonial rule on Kano State was immediate. The directional emphasis on trade and other links shifted completely southwards towards the coast and the traditional relationship with North Africa established for so long slowly died especially after 1911 when the Kano-Borno and 1912 when the Lagos-Kano railway lines were commissioned. Since then more people flocked to Kano because of the increased prosperity of the area. In fact, Kano urban has witnessed the highest rate of urban migration in Northern Nigeria and has increased in size by 650 percent between 1911 and 1962.[8] This is the State of Kano which this paper is all about.

Long distance trade means trade between the two ecological zones (to and from) Kano which is as old as Kano

itself as noted by the late Mallam Sa'adu Zungur: "tun Bagauda ya na saran Kano, su ka fara fataucin dukiya."[9] The trade became well noted between 1452 and 1463 during the time of Sarkin Kano Yakubu.[10] With gradual Islamization of the area which seriously started during the time of Sarki Muhammad Rumfa (1499-1509) and reached a peak when Kano became part of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1807 trading activities continued and was sustained until it was defeated by the British Colonial Forces at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Long distance trade, stretching both to the north and south from the commercial centers of northern Nigeria, has long attracted the attention of students of the region's history. Scholars such as Baire, Cohen Johnson, and Lovejoy have directed considerable efforts at studying the late nineteenth and early twentieth century trade of local commodities and manufactured goods for items such as desert salt from points north and kolanuts from the Akan forest regions.[11] While these works have been successful in improving our understanding of the history, economics and general dynamics of such trade, they have not focused specifically upon those individuals who were actually responsible for the trade itself. It is hoped that the three brief biographies that follow will help to amend this weakness in the literature. These biographies examine the lives of Adamu Jakada, Umaru Sharubutu Koki and Alhassan Dantata successful traders who belonged to the Agalawa ethnic sub-group. While the Agalawa had their origin in servile status to the Tuareg, many had subsequently moved south and assumed Hausa ethnicity.[12] Based largely on oral sources, including descendants and business associates of the subjects, each account begins with an examination of the

trader's family background and early life before chronicling his commercial exploits and fortunes.

The biography format offers valuable insights into numerous aspects of the long-distance trade that operated out of northern Nigeria. At the most basic level, these accounts offer data regarding the mechanics of long distance trade during the period in question. Such information includes what trade routes were utilized and pioneered, what products were considered most profitable and in what ways the traders diversified and expanded their business operations. Further, the biographies offer a view into the hazards of long-distance trade in the eighteen hundreds. Witness, for example, Adamu Jakada's loss of his entire capital holdings during a single caravan trip. In addition to such information regarding long-distance trade activities, these accounts also offer insights into the roles such powerful business people played within their home communities, ranging from local trade to political activity to altruistic endeavors.

Because the biographies here presented not only chronicle the economic activities of three influential traders but also offer valuable information regarding their family backgrounds and early life, they are able to shed light upon exactly how these individuals were able to enter into the competitive business of long-distance trade. While each of the traders examined came from wealthy commercial families, it is evident that their long-term financial success sprang not only from their families capital reserves, but also from the store of knowledge that allowed them to recover from financial disaster and adopt to changing economic environments.

Indeed, each of the biographies presented here covers roughly the same period, from the middle of the nineteenth

century to the middle of the twentieth, a period that saw the coming of colonial rule and the integration of the region into a wider world economy. Each of the subjects of these biographies dealt with their economic environment differently, resulting in very different outcomes. These accounts offer a valuable insight into the means by which successful commercialists dealt with the pitfalls and changes that challenged their livelihoods during this tumultuous.

Umaru Sharubutu Koki (1853–1947)

The grandfather of Umaru Sharubutu, known as Abdulmimini, was born in the Dallaje area in the present day Bindawa district of Katsina Emirate, Katsina State. Barth, travelling through the area in 1851, described this area as one of the finest landscapes he had ever seen.[13] The ancestors of Umaru's family were said to have originally come from Wadai through the land of Borno and finally settled in Katina. They claimed to be of Arab descent. Abdulmimini had many children, but the most outstanding among them were Abubakar and Umaru Dallaje.[14]

Abubakar was the older and had considerable wealth. The family lived as a single unit until the outbreak of the 1804 Jihad in the area. Umaru Dallaje, the younger brother, was more enthusiastic and quickly joined the Jihad on the side of the Shehu Usman Danfodio. While Umaru Dallaje travelled to Sokoto to join the Jihad, and later returned to help lead the Jihad in the local area, his older brother Abubakar was not so enthusiastic, even though he was himself a *Malami* (religious teacher). Indeed, following the overthrow of the traditional Hausa dynasty of Katsina in 1807, Abubakar left the area,

taking with him his family members, slaves, animals and material property.

Abubakar and his entourage travelled to Kano, where he sent *gaisuwa* (greetings and gifts) to the Emir of Kano, Suleiman. The Emir granted Abubakar the right to settle on a fertile tract of land in the area on the condition that neither he nor any member of his group would seek political office in Kano. From this base, Abubakar was able to organize trading missions to Gumel, exchanging natron for kolanuts and cloth. In time, Abubakar's wealth grew and he was able to secure land at Koki, within the city wall, from Emir Ibrahim Dabo (Suleiman's successor) in 1836. He maintained his original settlement outside of the city, though, and it was here that his son Umaru Sharubutu was born in the year 1855.[15]

Umaru Sharubutu grew up inside the city of Kano and his early life was like that of many Hausa children. His father's religious knowledge, though, was a strong influence, and he learned the Qur'an more extensively than most of his peers. From a very early age he began helping with the family business. At the age of twelve he accompanied his father to Lagos on a trading mission by way of Bida. Several of Umaru's siblings also travelled on such caravan trips. These included his brothers - Inuwa, Ibrahim, Adamu Mai-Unguwa and Na Alhaji.

In 1883, when Umaru was thirty years of age, his father passed away. Though he was not the eldest son, he was the wealthiest and had accumulated extensive business connections with such far-flung trading centers as Borno, Ibadan, Lagos and Accra. Because of these qualifications, Umaru assumed the leadership of the family "company."

Umaru Sharubutu was a general trader. When he travelled from Kano to Lagos, he took necklaces, earrings, cloth and other locally produced or obtainable goods and sold them on his way south, using the proceeds of these sales to buy kolanuts with which to return north. By 1912 he was one of the wealthiest merchants in Kano. In 1913, Umaru was officially invited by the European traders to help them in purchasing groundnuts. He accepted the offer, but over the course of the next two years, he only lost money in this trade. Because of these losses, Umaru left the groundnut business.

From this point, though, Umaru's wealth continued to decline. The attention of the Europeans and the Emirs was now focused on cash crop production. Rather than being assisted by the authorities, the long-distance kola traders were only harassed. Further, the markets were increasingly limited to Kano and Borno. They could no longer transport large quantities of goods to the Damagaram area and other points north. His estates outside of the city had previously been staffed by slaves and servants, but in the wake of the British conquest, his slaves were allowed to go free. With twenty-six children to provide for, Umaru's wealth was stretched thin. His share of business in Kano was increasingly taken over by newcomers such as Alhassan Dantata (who had greater fortune with groundout buying) and Maikano Agogo.[16] Despite such threats to his status, Umaru managed to hold his title as one of the *Tajiran Kano* (wealthy men of Kano) until his death at the age of 92 years.

Upon his death, though, the business affairs of Umaru Sharubutu all but collapsed. None of his twenty-six children had enough capital to maintain the family business concerned. His heirs sold off his holdings in Borno, Bida, Ilorin, Lagos,

Lokoja and Accra. Still, the family could not even maintain Umaru's six large houses that were located in the Kwari section of Kano City.

Adamu Jakada (? -1943)

Very little is known about the early life of Adamu Jakada. It is known that he was born in the Kantudun Madabo ward of Kano, one of that city's oldest wards. Adamu Jakada's father was known as Abdu "*Baqi-Baq"i*, supposedly because he was very dark of complexion, which is typical of the Agalawa people. His mother's name was Kwashenda. The family probably moved to Kano from Daura around 1807 just after the fall of the city to the Fulani Jihadists and when the Daura and Katsina area was unstable due to the activities of the expelled Hausa rulers who had based themselves at Maradi and other places.[17]

Both the father and mother of Adamu were wealthy kolanut merchants. Some evidence even suggests that Kwashenda was wealthier than Abdu. The family joined the caravans of the well-known Madugu Indo from the city's Adakawa ward in order to travel to Gonja. On these trips they carried manufactured goods from Kano and returned with kolanuts. At about the age of six, Adamu was taken to a Qur'anic school at Madabo, where he spent about ten years. During this time he memorized the whole of the Qur'an and became versed in Islamic legal and religious knowledge.

When he was about sixteen years old, Adamu started to accompany his parents on their trading missions to Gonja. He worked primarily for his father. His mother, though, provided him with items on credit, which allowed him to accumulate a small amount of working capital.

Abdu *Baqi-Baqi* died when Adamu was at the age of thirty-two. As the senior male child, he took over as head of the family. This transition was simplified by the fact that Adamu's experience of working for his father meant that he was well versed in the arts of trade, knew all the family's business associates, knew the Gonja trade route and knew what to buy and sell to turn a profit.

At first, Adamu was successful as head of the family trading business. He continued to trade as usual and all of the members of the family accepted his lead. He was on his way to becoming a wealthy man when he and his business were struck by a disaster. According to sources, Adamu was on a trading mission in the Bassa-Yawuri area when he lost all his goods either to robbers or dishonest agents. In such a situation, Adamu could neither continue to Gonja nor return to Kano. Therefore, he decided to settle at Lokoja. Drawing upon his Islamic schooling, Adamu became a *Malami* (teacher) and took the job of leading prayers, practicing *tsubbu* (medicine) and educating children for the growing Hausa community in the area.[18]

By 1886, Adamu left his position as Malami and took up employment as messenger, interpreter and letter-writer for Mr. Wallace (*Baba*) of the Royal Niger Company. He held this position until the character of the company was withdrawn four years later. At this time, when the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was declared, the services of the administrative and military personnel of the Royal Niger Company were taken over by the new Lugardian administration, including Adamu. It was he who helped Lugard to recruit Hausas, particularly people from Kano, into the West African Frontier Force. Adamu's first appointment as

a political Agent dated from April 1, 1901 — at the highest annual salary of 48 pounds. He was dismissed on June 30 of that year, but later re-instated with no official break in his record of service.[19] Because of his knowledge of the routes between Lokoja, Kano and other trading centers, Adamu served as a valuable political agent for Lugard. In particular, he reported on the activities of the Emirs and their relationship to the Sarkin Musulmi (Caliph) in Sokoto.[20] Adamu was particularly well suited for such a position, since it was he who had earlier conveyed the tribute to the Caliph from the Royal Niger Company, a practice which he continued on behalf of Lugard. At one point in 1900, while taking the "Christian tribute" to Sokoto, Adamu was detained by the Emir of Zaria in order to wait on the decision of the Sarkin Musulmi as to whether or not he should proceed.[21] Adamu also reported the movement of Rabeh ibn Fadlallah and the French in the area of Borno.[22]

It was strongly believed by my informants that Adamu conveyed the letter from Lugard to Caliph AbdulRahman of Sokoto (nicknamed *Danyen Kasko* or "unbaked pot") that stated that the Emirates of Bida and Kontagora were defeated and the Emirs deposed in 1990 and 1901 respectively. Lugard, in his letter dated 18/3/1901 implored the Sarkin Musulmi to appoint new Emirs in their places.[23] Abdulrahaman was angered by this letter, and made plans to execute the messenger - Adamu. The Sultan's Waziri, though, advised him not to do so, because the Prophet of Islam prohibited his followers from executing messengers. To Lugards' letter, Abdulrahaman wrote his famous reply:

> From us to you: I do not consent that any one from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. Between us and you there are no dealings except as

> between Muslims and unbelievers – war - as Allah Almighty has enjoined us. There is no power or strength save in God, The Most High. This, with salutation.[24]

The Sultan then passed the letter to Adamu and said "you, *Jakada* (official messenger), take this letter to your master, *Nasara* (Christian Whiteman)." Reportedly, this is how Adamu received his full name of Adamu Jakada.[25] After Lugard received this letter he prepared the final conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate and it was Adamu who led them from Lokoja, adding his knowledge to what the British had gleaned from maps and travelers' Journals.

Following the conquest of Kano, the commercial centre of the Caliphate, Adamu Jakada was sent to locate Wambai Abbas, brother of Aliyu, the Emir of Kano.[26] However, Wambai Abbas had escaped with his army following news of the British occupation. Adamu met him near Kwatarkwashi, where the Waziri of Kano had been killed while continuing to resist the British conquest. Abbas, though, was not willing to take such risks, and Adamu, in reporting the British intentions, was able to persuade him to come to Kano. Some weeks later, Abbas was appointed Emir, a position he held from 1903- 1919.[27] Following this success, Adamu was sent to Katsina with a letter calling for the surrender of the emir there.[28]

The Emir conceded and surrendered peacefully. Three years later, though, the Emir refused to continue his co-operation with the British, resulting in his being removed to Lokoja, where he later died in exile.[29]

By 1907, Adamu Jakada had re-established himself in Kano. He continued to work as messenger, interpreter and political agent on behalf of the whites and at the same time

had renewed his former activity in the kolanut trade.[30] It is claimed that Emir Abbas used to visit his house to ask Adamu his advice on how to deal with the British. The completion of the final portion of the Zaria-Kano railway in April of 1912 brought new opportunities for Adamu. It was through him that the European Companies approached the Kano merchants to encourage expanded cultivation of such crops as groundnuts and cotton. They even provided credit to some wealthy merchants to further this end. Among them were Maikano Agogo, Umaru Sharubutu, Banan Jaki-Koki and others.[31] Some of these merchants also became distributors of European manufactured goods.

In the early years of British rule, Adamu regained the prosperity he had so suddenly lost years before. But by 1934 he had once again lost his wealth. Perhaps he had made large loans that could not be repaid in the face of worldwide depression during these latter years. At this time he took to religion and abandoned all earthly matters. During the heyday of his business career, Adamu had not been known for his piety. He was said to have been too busy for Sallah (prayer) and fasting during Ramadan. Upon retiring, though, Adamu seems to have changed his ways. He established a mosque and made up for nine years of lost prayer and fasting. He fasted and gave handfuls of grain for every day he had missed. With his remaining savings he kept many Muslim Scholars and their students in his houses free of charge. He gave some of these houses as Sadaka (endowment). He gave presents to people he had never seen before. If a pauper died, Adamu was the one to provide a shroud. He gave alms every day. He himself died in 1943.[32]

The Heirs of Adamu Jakada

Upon death, Adamu left five children, namely Labaran, Hamza, Gambo, Bogili and Malka. None of these children became wealthy. However, a grandson of Adamu Jakada, Alhaji Sani Zawiyya, is a relatively wealthy kolanut trader based near Zawiyya Mosque, Koki ward, Kano. Another of his sons is a wealthy trader based in Jos.

Alhaji Alhassan Dantata (1877-1955)

It is customary in Hausa society to name twin brothers as Hassan and Hussaini in honor of two sons of Ali-bn Abi Talib, the fourth Caliph to lead Muslims in the place of Muhammad. However, Dantata had no such known sibling, though it is possible his brother was still-born. Dantata was born in 1877 at Bebeji, a town that lay on the trade routes between Kano, Lagos and Gonja. Bebeji was known as a trading center and was home to a number of Hausa traders, as well as other ethnic groups such as the Yoruba, Nupe and Agalawa.[33] The town's trading activity even drew comparison to that of Kano (the northern commercial center). There was a saying "if Kano has ten kolas, Bebeji has twenty halves." Bebeji was controlled by a Sarki (King or chief) who was also responsible for protecting Kano from attack out of the South-West.

Alhassan was born into an Agalawa trading family. Both his parents were caravan leaders *Madugu* (masc.) *Maduga* (fem.) and traders of no small importance. His father, Abdullahi, was himself a son of a prosperous merchant, Baba Talatin, who had originally moved the family from Katsina in the early years of nineteenth century. It is said that Baba had received his name from meager payments. He sent his

otherwise unemployed slaves to work for cash (cowries shell) and collected thirty (talatin) cowries out of what they made each day. While sonic slave owners might demand that their slaves hand overall their earnings at the end of the day, Baba's slaves were free to keep anything they gained above the thirty cowries.[34]

Abdullahi was born at Danshayi, a small village on the Kano-Bebeji road, roughly fifteen kilometers from Kano. His father, Baba, later moved to Madobi, the standard first night's stop for caravans moving out from Kano. It was here that Baba died. His tomb can still be seen at this site.[35]

At the time of his father's death, Abdullahi had already acquired a reputation as a wealthy trader, and quickly assumed his father's position as a recognized and respected *madugu*.[36] Following the practice of his father he frequently followed the Nupe and Gonja trade routes. He specialized in the exchange of textiles, cattle and slaves from Kano for kola-nuts from the Akan forests. Interestingly, he expanded on this trade in kola to include cowries brought to the coast by European traders.[37]

Abdullahi continued to operate from Madobi until 1877, when his wife delivered a son at Bebeji. This was Alhassan. Abdullahi purchased a house in the town and left his wife and child to await his return from Gonja. On his return he abandoned Madobi and moved his base of operations to Bebeji. It was here that he later died, probably around 1885. The house, which contains his tomb, is still holding by the family. By the time of Abdullahi's death, his wife had born several other children, including Mallam Jaji, Mallam Bala, Mallam Sidi and others.[38] The children, though, were too young at the time of their father's death to manage

the family's considerable wealth. They all received their portion of the inheritance according to Islamic law.[39]

Abdullahi's wife, herself a *Maduga*, was a trader of no small consequence in the area. Indeed, she had such a reputation as a forceful character that nobody in the Zango would take her as a wife. She decided to leave the children in the care of an old slave woman and herself moved to Accra where she became known as one of the wealthier Hausa traders. The slave woman's name was Tata, and it was her role in raising Alhassan that led him to become known as Dantata (son of Tata).[40]

Alhassan was sent to a Qur'anic school in Bebeji and because his shares of his father's wealth seemed to have vanished, he had to support himself. Despite the fact that the life of an almajiri (Qur'anic student) was (and is) a difficult one, Alhassan was able to save some money, largely at Tata's insistence. She purchased an asusu (ceramic moneybox) for him. It can still be seen set in the wall of their house.[41]

When he was roughly fifteen years of age, Alhassan joined a Gonja-bound caravan in order to see his mother. He purchased some items from Bebeji, half of which he sold on the road and the remainder of which he was delighted to see his mother, because he hoped that her wealth would allow him to settle in Accra without having to work. After a rest of only one-day, though, she took him to another Malam (teacher) and asked him to stay there until he was ready to return to Kano. He was forced to work even in Accra. After the usual reading of the Qur'an, Alhassan had to go and beg for food for himself and his Malam. On Thursdays and Fridays, Alhassan worked for money, though he had to share

the greater part of this income with his teacher, which is normal in Hausa society.[42]

Upon his return to Bebeji, Alhassan continued his studies. Even though, he was by now a teenager, Tata continued to insist that he saved some money each day. When Alhassan was about 16 years of age, the Basasa (civil war) broke out in Kano. A group of dissidents from Kano managed to enter and sack the town of Bebeji. Many of the town's inhabitants were killed and the rest were captured including Alhassan and two of his brothers, Bala and Sidi.[43] Where Alhassan served his period of captivity is not precisely known, as there are four different versions of the story. The first version says that he was taken away with the rest of the captives to Garko, but redeemed himself after the war. A second story says that Alhassan used his existing wealth to redeem himself and his brother Sidi immediately after his capture. The third version states that Alhassan escaped capture and redeemed his senior brother Bala some years later in 1925. The final version says that Alhassan was taken along with the other residents of the town, but escaped very shortly afterwards and joined a Gonja-bound caravan and returned to his mother.[44] Whatever version may be accepted, it is clear that the Kano civil war was yet another complication in the difficult life of the young Alhassan Dantata.

Alhassan witnessed yet another upheaval when the British pushed into the region shortly after the turn of the century. Alhassan was in Bebeji when the British crossed the frontier from Zaria on February 1, 1903. In the attack on Bebeji, the town's Sarki was killed along with a number of his troops. Alhasan remained in Bebeji until some degree of normalcy returned and the roads were secure, at which point

he set out for Accra by way of Ibadan and Lagos, travelling to the Gold Coast by sea. Indeed, Alhassan was one of the first northern traders to exploit these routes commercially. For several years, he utilized coastal steamers to transport his kolanuts to Lagos where he resold them to Kano-bound traders. Once again he began to amass considerable wealth. In 1906 he began to diversify his interests by trading in beads, necklaces, European cloth and so forth, His mother, who had never remarried, died in Accra around 1908, at which time Alhassan began to limit his trade to Lagos and Kano, though he still occasionally visited Accra.

Thus far in his life, Alhassan Dantata had visited Kano only occasionally, generally keeping his residence at some point along the trade routes somewhere outside of the city. It was during the rule of Emir Abbas (1903-1919) that Alhassan decided to establish a home in Kano. He purchased his first house in the Sarari area (an extension of Koki). At that time, there were few houses in the area (Sarari means "open space"). By building his first house on this land, Alhassan was able to expand freely as he saw fit.[45]

In 1912, when the Europeans started to show an interest in the export of groundnuts, they contacted established merchants by way of the Emir and his chief agent, Adamu Jakada. Established merchants such as Umaru Sharubutu and Maikano Agogo were approached and accepted the offer.[46]

In 1918, Alhassan was approached by the Royal Niger Company to help purchase groundnuts for them. He was already familiar with the manner by which people made fortunes by buying cocoa for the Europeans in the Gold Coast. As such he responded and participated in the enterprise with enthusiasm. In this endeavor, he had several advantages over

other Kano traders. He could speak some English as a result of his trade in the south and along the coast and as such could negotiate directly with the European traders. He had also accumulated a greater amount of capital than many other Kano merchants. Further, unlike many of his peers, he had a relatively small family to maintain, largely due to the fact that he was still younger than other traders of similar means. His early life had instilled in him an excellent sense for financial management, bolstered by a tendency to lead a frugal existence. He had some skill in accounting, and with the help of Alhaji Garba Maisikeli (his financial controller for thirty-eight years), every cent was accounted for every day. In addition to his financial skills, Alhassan was a careful manager who took time to provide direct supervision to his workers.

Within a short time of entering the business of purchasing groundnuts, Alhassan Dantata came to dominate the field. In fact, by 1922 he had become the wealthiest businessman in Kano, pushing Umaru Sharubutu and Maikano Agogo to second and third places respectively.[47] When the British Bank of West Africa was opened in Kano in 1929, he became the first Kano businessman to utilize a bank when he deposited twenty camel-loads of silver coin.[48] When he died on 19 August 1955 he was the wealthiest man of any race in West Africa. In 1949, he contributed property valued at ten thousand two hundred pounds to the proposed Kano Citizens Trading Company for the establishment of the first indigenous textile mill in northern Nigeria.

As stated above, Alhassan Dantata became the chief produce buyer, particularly of groundnuts, for the Royal Niger Company (later known as the United Africa Company).

It is said that he commonly purchased about half of all the nuts purchased by the U.A.C in northern Nigeria. In 1910 he applied for a license to purchase and export groundnuts just like the U.A.C. However, because of the lingering world depression and the conflict in Europe, it was not granted. In 1953-1954, he became a licensed Buying Agent who sold directly to the Marketing Board instead of to another firm. However, Dantata had many business connections both in Nigeria and in other West African countries, particularly the Gold Coast. He dealt in merchandise other than groundnut, including cattle, kolanut, cloth, beads, precious stones, grains and rope. After he finally settled in Kano, Dantata maintained agents, mainly his relations, in other trading centers. For instance, his brother, Alhaji Bala, was sent to Lagos. Dantata employed many people, mainly Hausas, Yorubas and Igbos as wage earners in such roles as drivers, clerks and laborers. In some ways his employees were treated as members of his extended family. Some lived in his own houses (especially the Hausa workers). He frequently took responsibility for his workers marriage expenses.

Despite his great wealth, Dantata lived a simple life. He ate the same food as any other individual and dressed in simple clothes. He worked closely with his employees and frequently took his meals with them. It is reported that Dantata sought to avoid any conflict with individuals or with the authorities. Whenever he offended those in power he would seek to quietly solve the problem with the official concerned.[49]

Dantata is said to have respected people with Qur'anic and other forms of Islamic education, and helped them occasionally. He established a Qur'anic school for his children

and other people of the neighborhood. He insisted that all his children be well educated in the Islamic way. Dantata also appreciated functional Western education, but just enough to facilitate business transactions, such as arithmetic, simple accounting and some skill in reading, writing and speaking English. In the 1930's Dantata backed the establishment of a Western-style school in the Dala area for the children of Hausa (non- Fulani) traders. The existence of a school in Bebeji (the only non-district headquarters in Kano to have one at the time) was probably due to his influence. In 1944 he established the Dantata Arabic and English School. For his own part, Dantata could neither read nor write English. He could read but not write or speak in Arabic, though his skill in Ajami (Hausa written in Arabic Script) is excellent.

Dantata started to acquire urban land in Kano as early as 1917 in the non-European trading site of the so-called "Syrian Quarters." In that year he leased two plots at an annual fee of twenty pounds. All his houses were occupied by his own relations and employees. He never built or purchased property for commercial lease and advised his children to avoid similar dealings.

Dantata never became a politician in the true sense of the term. However, because of his enormous wealth, he was always very close to the government. It was in his interest to stay in the good graces of both the colonial government and the Emir of Kano. He was nominated to represent commoners in the reformed local administration of Kano and in 1954 was made a member in the Emir's Council - the first non-royal to do so. As such, Dantata was a member of the highest indigenous governing body in Kano at the time. He was also appointed with Malam Nasiru Kabara to mediate between the

Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Northern Peoples Congress political parties following a series of conflicts in 1954. Formally, he belonged to neither Party, but it is clear that he sympathized with the N.P.C.

Alhassan Dantata was a devout Muslim. He was one of the first northern Nigerians to visit Mecca by mail boat (via England) in the early 1920s.[50]. He loved reading the Qur'an and Hadith. He built both a personal mosque in his house and established a Qur'anic school for his children. He maintained a full-time Islamic scholar called Alhaji Abubakar (the father of Malam Lawan Kalarawi, a Kano public preacher). He paid *Zakka* annually according to Islamic injunction. He gave alms to the poor every Friday. Dantata belonged to the Qadiriyya brotherhood. Because of his Islamic belief, Alhassan Dantata never transacted business with a woman of whatever age, and his bank account did not earn any interest. His wife, Hajiya Umma Zaria (the mother of Aminu Dantata) was his chief agent for trading with other women. Women needed not to visit her house. She established agents all over Kano city and visited them in turn. When she visited her agents, it was the duty of the agents to ask what the women in the ward wanted and Hajiya Umma Zaria would then leave the items for them. All her agents were old married women, and she warned these agents to desist from conducting business with newly wedded girls. She dealt in everything from the smallest household items to sophisticated jewelry worth thousands of pounds.[51]

Though he had always been remarkably healthy, no doubt in part due to his active lifestyle, Dantata fell ill in 1955. Because of the gravity of this sickness, he summoned together his children and his chief financial controller, Garba Maisikeli.

He told them that his days were approaching their end and he advised them to live together in honesty. He was particularly concerned that the company he had established, Alhassan Dantata and Sons, not be allowed to collapse. He implored them to marry within the family as much as possible and to avoid needless clashes with other Kano merchants. They were also advised to take care of their relatives, especially the poor among them. Three days later, on Wednesday 17 August 1955, he passed away in his sleep. He was buried the same day in his house in the Sarari Ward of Kano.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Postscript: The Terminus?

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Introduction

Kano is the Gateway to the North. So says, repeatedly and always, Alhaji Bello Dandago, the Sarkin Dawaki Maituta of Kano, at the debates in the Nigerian parliament (1960-66). The first major Airport in Nigeria was established in Kano. As the biggest city in Nigeria's northern region, it is also the railway terminus from Lagos, Nigeria's *entreport*. Kano is thus the beginning of Nigeria and the end. This is one of the paradoxes that is Kano. *Jallabar Hausa. mithlika alfun. Yaro ko da mai ka zo an fi ka.* This Arabic-Hausa eulogy itself tells you about Kano's international status before the advent of colonialism.

Oral Tradition: The Place of Music

Apart from written sources and architectural finds, oral tradition is a rich source of history of Kano. A great deal of living history is recorded orally by royal and pop musicians.[1] They may exaggerate the greatness of Kano and its Royal Leaders but they also give vivid account, like modern journalists and commentators, of events they witness. Modern audio-visual equipment has facilitated the storage of such oral

traditions and they can be cited as written expressions. Kano has attracted famous musicians and griots, our traditional journalists. Their generation is extinct by 1999, thus, coinciding with the end of the first millennium and the beginning of a new one. The biographies of such musicians are fully documented and most of their oral works transcribed and analyzed by students of Hausa language. It is significant that most of them were not from Kano either by residence or by origin. They were frequent visitors. Ironically, Kano did not excel in this field. It barely comes second. Yet these musicians, because of their attachment to the Kano royal palace, learnt certain information from the actors or witnessed the events themselves. They were in fact participant observers. Four of them shall be discussed briefly here. They are, chronologically, Salihu Jankidi, Musa Dankwairo, Mamman Sarkin Taushin Katsina and Alhaji Mamman Shata. The latter in fact, moved temporarily to Kano towards the end of his life because of his newfound friendship with Adamu Dankabo, the Jarman Kano and aviation mogul.

Salihu Jankidi (1853-1973) was born at Rawaiya, near Gusau, Zamfara state. He participated in the battle against British invasion of Kontagora where he lived. He became the official griot of the Sultan of Sokoto, Sir Abubakar III (born in 1903, became Sultan in 1938 and died in 1988). Sokoto itself fell to the British the same day Sultan Abubakar was born (March 15, 1903). He composed music for the Sultan, the Emirs and the Sardauna of Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of Northern Region. He composed music for the Emirs of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero (1927-1953) and his son and successor, Sir Muhammadu Sunusi (1953-1963). He extolled their greatness,

their contribution to development and their fame. He recorded Bayero's trip to Mecca on pilgrimage in 1945, the second Emir in Nigeria to perform the Hajj. He also recorded the visit of Queen Elizabeth II of England during the reign of Emir Sunusi and described the decorations in the palace which he said matched those at Zaila (perhaps in Yemen or Istanbul). The decorations included the stone walls surrounding the palace, the storey building housing the Emirate Council and the municipal services such as tap water, electric fans and separate places for male and female litigants. The building, he says, was the first of its kind in Northern Nigeria. In one of his lyrics, he mentioned the development of irrigation farming by the Emir (*rani an mai sai damina* – he has transformed the dry season green). How many people can remember that irrigation farming started before Audu Bako, the agro-allied Governor of Kano state? *Jankidi* used the *taushi* or 'single-membrane drums, as his instrument. It is particularly associated with royal music. He was said to be highly attached to Emir Bayero with whom he was at home. He described Kano as the London of the Hausa states – *Kano Ingilar 'yan Hausa.*

Musa Dankwairo (1910-1995) was born at Maradun, Zamfara state. He composed music for the present Emir of Kano, Ado Bayero that became very popular because of its details in the accounts of the Royal festivities during the annual *Sallah* festival. Of particular interest was the music he composed for northern Nigeria in which he recounted the commercial and industrial prowess of Kano as reflected in the following verses

> *A Kano a ke jimar fatoci; a Kanoyin tayoyi; kwanoni irn na rufin gini; a Kano a ke yin kwanoni irin na cin abinci; a Kano a ke yin Kujeri; a Kano*

a ke yin Turare; a Kano a ke yin alawar lemo; a Kano a ke yin Basukur; a Kano a ke yin …

Trans:

In Kano we have tanneries for hide and skin; it is in Kano they manufacture vehicle tyres; it is in Kano they make roofing sheets and table plates; it is in Kano they make upholstery; it is in Kano they manufacture perfume; it is in Kano they make sweet; etc.

Going by this and Sarkin Taushi's list below, Kano could as well be described as the Birmingham of Northern Nigeria. It is! Although far behind Lagos in terms of industrial concerns and commerce, it is Nigeria's second industrial city and the first in the North.

Muhammadu Sarkin Taushin Katsina (1911-1990) was the royal griot of the Emir of Katsina. He was born at Gora Namaye in Maradun District, Zamfara state. He migrated to Katsina when he was young and playing farm music to encourage farmers at their farms. He was using the *kotso* or hour-glass drums but the famous Emir of Katsina, Muhammadu Dikko (1906-1944), gave him *taushi*, thus domesticating and confining him to royal music.[2] He sang for the Emir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sunusi, and was emotionally attached to him such that he had to defend himself from criticism that he did not sing for the new Emir, Ado Bayero (1963 to date), saying that he sang for all descendants of Dabo (1827-1837), the patriarch of the Sullubawa royal lineage. He is such an excellent recorder of events, particularly all the Durbars he witnessed in Kaduna, detailing each Emir's regalia. For the Emir Sunusi, he compared his royal paraphernalia to that of the Kings of Egypt. He went out of his way to say that the

United Nations had even passed a resolution upgrading the Emir to the same status as the King of Saudi Arabia. He also recorded the Emir's (controversial) new car which he said was made of gold and silver. This very car was one of the profligate expenditures that the Emir was accused of indulging that ostensibly sucked the Native Authority treasury dry which led to the Muffet inquiry and the subsequent abdication of Muhammadu Sunusi. His prime music was the one in which he gave a vivid account of those things that made Kano city unique. He says thus:

> *in ka yi kamar Sarkin Kano, to fadi ba ka Gidan Sarkin Kano;*
> *in ka yi Gidan Sarkin Kano, to fadi ba ka Kasar Sarkin Kano;*
> *in ka yi Kasar Sarkin Kano, to fadi ba ka Masallacin Kano;*
> *in ka yi Masallacin Kano, ba ka da Dala da Gwauron Dutse*
> *don a Kano su ke tun can auwali…*

Trans:

> Kano is distinct not just because of its royal style. It is distinct because of its people, its mosque which design is the first of its kind in Nigeria. It is distinct because of its famous historical features – Dala Hill and Gwauron Dutse Hill, since they have been in Kano right from the beginning.

The central mosque in Kano, built to its modern form by Emir Abdullahi Bayero after his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina in 1945, had been a great centre of attraction for Muslims in Nigeria.

Again the Sarkin Taushi described Kano sociologically. He said that whoever doubts the extent of Kano should know that it extends from the Airport to Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada, Bompai and Nasarawa, the railway terminus an the gates of the old city out of which he mentioned four – Dan

agundi, Kofar Na'isa, Dukawuya and Gadon Kaya. These lay in the southern part of the city.

Kano stands as the biggest urban conurbation in West Africa. This includes the satellite towns and settlements that Sarkin Taushi has mentioned in his song which he composed between 1953 and 1963. most probably in 1959, at the period of self-government in the North. Sarkin Taushi went further to count Kano's industrial prowess. Kano is industrial centre in which textiles and tyres are manufactured. Thus, he said Kano was not comparable to other cities. In terms of culture, Sarkin Taushi also said that in Kano there is strict rule that prohibited social vices such as brothels and pubs.

Alhaji Mamman Shata Katsina (1925-2000) was a pop musician. He sang for all social classes and for anything, any art and genius. He died at 75 in 2000, the beginning of a new millennium. Shata is so popular in Kano that he described himself as the *Sarkin Wakan Kanawa* i.e. the chief musician of Kano people. He worked for a period in the 1950s singing for the Niger Club (Furniss, 1996). Although he was born at Musawa and lived in Funtua, all in Katsina state, he frequented Kano. He was widely travelled in Nigeria, like other musicians mentioned above, and in West Africa which the others did not visit. He gave Kano the popular accolade *jinshimin gari mai Dala da Gwauron Dutse*, the big town that houses Dala and Gwauron Dutse. These are the two distinctive features associated with Kano. No other city in Nigeria is associated with its physical features as Kano is with Dala and Gwauron Dutse. This perhaps underlies their historical importance. Dala is the nucleus of Kano. It is only in Kano that Shata could exhibited his superiority over Hausa

musicians not anywhere else. It was either at the royal wedding of princes where musicians from all over Hausaland were invited or at social gatherings in Fage or Sabon Gari, perhaps the two most urban conurbations in Hausaland. Perhaps Shata sang for more people in Kano than anywhere else. This is not because they are rich. He might not have sung for the famous and important rich men of Kano such as the Dantatas. He sang for those who excelled in their occupations in Kano such as Hauwa Mai Tuwo, who sells food. He sang for Garban Bichi, a merchant-farmer. His songs for the Kano aristocrats are few. He sang for Dankabo, a member of his social club. But he sang for the Emirs and a few princes such as Wamban Kano, the District Head of Bichi and Dan Iya Ado Sunusi in their heydays. He sang more for the commoners and artisans which abound in Kano, including society women.

Foreign Leaders Who Visited Kano

Kano has an irresistible allure to governments of Nigeria and to foreign leaders. Its splendor and cultural heritage have become a showcase for foreign visitors. The first Durbar in Nigeria, and the first gathering of all the Emirs of Northern Nigeria at which Lord Lugard, the Governor-General addressed them, was staged in Kano in 1905.[2] Even before then, it is a safe haven for nationalist leaders. Charles de Gaulle took asylum in Kano in 1942 during the Second World War when Vichy France was in power at Paris.[3] Ahmadu Ahidjo of Cameroun was in Kano as a fugitive of the colonial administration in his country when he was leading his country's independence. His mother, Adda Kano, lived in Fage. Ahidjo may have returned to his roots when he visited

Kano in 1974, where he stayed at Yakasai with a local prominent family, the Howeidys.

It will be a subject of small research to find out why the federal government chooses Kano as the second place for foreign leaders when they visit Nigeria; why not Borno or Sokoto or even Kaduna. The Senegalese leader Leopold Senghor visited Kano probably because Nigeria and Senegal were the leading groundnut producers in Africa, if not the entire third world. Kano was the country's groundnut producer. In Kano, Gwarzo is the place that produces the cash crop. Therefore, it was not surprising at all for Senghor to visit Kano and perhaps sign any cooperation agreement with Nigeria, to form as a groundnut cartel. The present Emir of Kano, Ado Bayero, was Nigeria's Ambassador to Dakar and he remembered vividly his assignment, in the few interviews he granted, in Senegal - to work with Senegal to protect their cash crop. He was engaged in the initial negotiations before returning to Nigeria barely six months into his diplomatic post, to become the Emir of Kano in 1963.

Kano is the main market for the people of Niger Republic. Hausa is their main language spoken by other tribes as the unofficial lingua franca. In fact, the history of Kano and that of Niger Republic, are locked together in years of rivalry, wars and diplomacy. Seyni Kountche who succeeded Hamani Diori as president of Niger, visited Kano. It would be a big surprise if there is any Nigerien leader who did not visit Kano, officially or privately. President Tandja Mamadou was the Consul-General in Kano, before becoming the Ambassador in Nigeria.

Gaddafi's popularity in Kano is second to his own home country. Some of Libya's officials, including military

officers and Ambassadors either had their roots in Kano, maternally, or have lived in Kano to speak fluent Hausa like the proverbial *Jakin Kano*.[4] Bayero University, Kano, awarded him an honorary doctorate degree (*honoris causa*), and when he came to Kano to receive the award, he led the Friday prayers at the Eid ground. General Sani Abacha, Nigeria's Head of State, attended the prayer. This cozy relationship with Nigeria was part of Abacha's foreign policy of looking towards the East when the Western world was very hostile because of the domestic crises in Nigeria.

President Ga'afar Numeiry of Sudan had a cultural attachment to Kano. To start with, many Sudanese officials trace their origin to Nigeria. Much more Sudanese live in Kano than any other African city, save Cairo, Egypt. The trade link between Kano and Sudan is for researchers to quantify. To date, there is a weekly flight of Sudan Air to Kano. It is one of the main sources of revenue for the airline, just as Lagos is to British Airways. Above all, Sudan was the Oxford for Muslim jurists and Arabists in the 1960s-80s.[5] It was the training ground and the fountain from which the penal code of Northern Nigeria emerged. The School of (Legal and) Arabic Studies (SAS), established in 1945 was fashioned along the Bakhter Rudha Institute of Education in Khartoum when the Wazirin Kano, Gidado, visited it on his way to Mecca, by road, in 1931. The first set of our jurists, Arabists/Islamists such as Sheikh Abubakar Gumi (Islamic scholar, jurist, former Grand Qadi of Northern Nigeria and northern states), Dr. Hassan Gwarzo (Islamic scholar, former Grand Qadi of Kano state), Professor Shehu Galadanci (Islamic scholar, former Provost, Abdullahi Bayero College, Vice Chancellor, University of Sokoto, National Security Adviser, Nigeria's

Ambassador to Saudi Arabia) and Professor Halliru Binji (Islamic scholar, author, Grand Qadi of Sokoto state) studied there. The first Grand Qadi of Northern Nigeria, Sheikh Ahmed Auwad was Sudanese. The Principals and teachers of the SAS were mostly Sudanese for a long time before Nigerian teachers took over. One of them was Sheikh Uthman El-Tayyib, who lived and died in Kano. He became a very important and influential merchant in Kano. El-Tayyib was Numeiry's teacher in school back at Sudan. Numeiry wanted to reward his teacher and for a long time sought the permission of the Nigerian Government to appoint El-Tayyib Honorary Consul of the Republic of Sudan in Kano. This subsequently made Kano a Consulate-General, second in importance to the Embassy in Lagos. The Gowon Administration dragged its feet, perhaps because of the Islamophobic tendency of its northern and southern Christian decision-makers or a sign of its decay at its dying days. This request was granted immediately after General Murtala Muhammed came to power. The Honorary Consul has powers to issue visa to applicants visiting Sudan. It is usual for countries to do that as an economically expedient measure. The Honorary Consul is resident and has assimilated with the host community. It costs the government nothing but it adds to its presence in the country and is one way of appreciating the good cultural or commercial relationship its citizens are forging in the diaspora.[6]

Oumar Hassan el-Bashir came to Kano for as many as the reasons that brought Numeiry and much more. His father Sheikh al-Bashir El-Rayyah was the first Principal of the SAS. If el-Bashir was not born here in Kano, he lived his early life in the Afro-Arab Islamic city. After his visit, the Sheikh Bashir al-

Rayyah secondary school was established. It is still standing and patronized by the people. Sudan's reliance on Kano might be dwindling, except for the favorable foreign exchange, because of Sudan's increasing economic prosperity after the discovery of oil. Perhaps the number of Sudanese in Nigeria might also be dwindling. But there is no empirical research to confirm this assumption.

Rawlings visit to Nigeria, accompanied by President Babangida to Kano in 1989, was perhaps because of the influence of the Hausa community and the Hausa language in Ghana, particularly, Accra, Kumasi and other northern cities of Ghana where Islam has an established presence. Hausa is the commercial language in Ghana and the state Radio and Television use it for advertisement and perhaps, even news broadcast. Kano is the most populous Hausa city and it is the commercial centre in the North. Perhaps, in Ghana, or Accra, the number of Hausa people from Kano is higher than in other cities. Ghana, *Gwanja* in Hausa, is the main source of Goro, or kolanut, a priceless commodity among the Hausa people, because it is a stimulant that is not intoxicant. It is safe for the Muslims to chew. Although it is not likely that he spoke Hausa because of his German maternal roots but the vice president of Ghana under the elected civilian regime of John Kufuor (2000-2008) was a Hausa Muslim from Zamfara state.

The visit by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain at the instance of the Babangida Administration was said to on condition that she would be hosted to a colorful durbar in Kano. She came to Kano and watched the durbar. The Emir did not ride but stayed at the pavilion with her.

Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, came to Kano seasonally to watch the migratory birds along the wetlands of

north-east. Kano is the gateway because the airport is there for him to land. He came in 1988/89 and I covered the event. He piloted the VC-10 British Airways. We all saw him when he removed his coat and entered the cockpit. Prince Philip is the President of the Worldwide Conservation Society.

Kano hosted the Nigeria-Niger Joint Cooperation Commission, the highest economic relationship between countries. The meeting took place at Bagauda Lake Hotel, near Kano, in 1988. All the Emirs and the Governors on the frontiers of both countries attended. From Niger Republic came the Sultan of Damagaram and the Prefects of the adjoining Regions. These routine annual meetings take place alternately in Niger and Nigeria and in each country the adjoining state or Province usually hosts it. Kano would lose this advantage because Katsina and Jigawa states have locked.

Kano also hosted the famous but ill-fated Chad Peace Conference of 1977. It took place at Bagauda Lake Hotel. The belligerents were also hosted in Kano while Habre's men were hosted in Libya.

Others leaders who visited Kano were Forbes Burnham, prime minister of Guyana; Vaclav Klaus, president of Czech Republic. Arthur Robinson, prime minister of Trinidad & Tobago and Lansana Conte of Guinea. Robert Mugabe visited Kano twice, a big surprise for a socialist to be fascinated by feudal traditional culture. Pat Loconzi, prime minister of Hungary also visited Kano, another big surprise for a European socialist to do so. Ibrahim Bare Mainasara, could as well be a man from Kano, like many of the Hausa-speaking leaders of Niger Republic. His closeness to the Abacha's was exceptional even in the historic relationship between the two countries. Most Nigeriens come to Kano

daily or weekly to do business (*cin kasuwa*) at Kurmi, Kwari and Sabon Gari markets. Niger is a source of livestock, particularly ruminants, for Nigeria. Kano is the *entreport*.

What brought Abdou Diouf of Senegal may be another groundnut negotiation although Kano might have lost to Senegal by then. At the same time, Kano is a big market for Senegalese groundnut. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda visited Kano and paid glowing tribute to Kano's Royal traditional culture. He said that the Baganda of the Buganda people, the paramount traditional ruler of Uganda, was being resuscitated.

Kano's uninterrupted growth and importance started a millennium ago. Today it has reached the stage of the biggest conurbation in West Africa. One factor attributed to its growing population since 1911 is the relative peace. If this variable remain constant Kano may overtake all the cities in the region.

Notes

1. I thank Radio Nigeria Kaduna, particularly Yahaya Kajuru, the Librarian, for tracts he recorded for me on CD – Sarkin Taushi and Dankwairo- at a short notice
2. Wakar Kano by Aliyu dan Sidi, Emir of Zazzau
3. I read this a long time ago and could not get the document now
4. I recall an interview in the late 1989 with Malam Lawal Abubakar saying this when I was a Reporter with the Democrat newspaper.
5. The author studied Arabic language at the Markazul Islamiy al-Ifriqiy (Islamic African Centre) now African International University, Khartoum (1986-87)
6. Interview with Ambassador Nuhu Muhammed at Kaduna (1995) for my Masters Degree

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